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HISTORICAL MEMOIRS

OF HIS LATE

ROYAL HIGHNESS

WILLIAM-AUGUSTUS,

DUKE OF CUMBERLAND.

Including the **MILITARY** and **POLITICAL**
History of **GREAT-BRITAIN**, during
that Period.



L O N D O N.

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HISTORICAL MEMOIRS

OF THE

ROYAL HIGHNESS

WILLIAM ALAN CUNNINGHAM

DUKE OF CUMBERLAND



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TO THE
RIGHT HONORABLE
GEORGE,
EARL OF ALBEMARLE,
THESE MEMOIRS
OF HIS LATE
ILLUSTRIOUS MASTER,
(WHICH NECESSARILY INCLUDE
MUCH HONOURABLE MENTION
OF HIS LORDSHIP)
ARE,
WITH THE GREATEST RESPECT,
MOST DUTIFULLY AND
HUMBLY INSCRIBED.

THE
RIGHT HONORABLE

GEORGE

MARK ALBEMARLE

OF THE

HOUSE OF COMMONS

OF HIS LATE

PARLIAMENTARY

SECRETARY

OF THE

HOUSE OF COMMONS

OF HIS LATE

PARLIAMENTARY

SECRETARY



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T H E

**THE
L I F E
O F
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS
WILLIAM AUGUSTUS,
DUKE of CUMBERLAND.**

CHAP. I.

The Rise of the SPANISH WAR in 1739, and of the GERMAN WAR in 1741. The DUKE of CUMBERLAND goes a Volunteer on board the Fleet under the Command of Sir JOHN NORRIS, upon a Secret Expedition against the SPANIARDS. His Military Promotions. The BRITISH Troops embark for FLANDERS, and are joined by the HANOVERIANS and HESSIANS in BRITISH Pay, to assist the Queen of HUNGARY.

THE Reformation, which was began in Germany in 1612, broke the chain of popery, and introduced a new system of power, by establishing the protestant religion, and raising another union of political interests. Trade has co-operated with religion; while consanguinity has frequently given place to confederacy, and human nature to unnatural policy, whereby public affairs have been rendered so precarious and

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complicated, as to occasion forty bloody wars in less than one hundred and fifty years.

Most of the princes and states of Europe are connected with one another by birth, marriage, or treaties, and may be considered as one great republic, or general state, like the Grecian powers formerly, whose common and reciprocal interests have frequently been broke or neglected; so that the wars carried on by those powers may be considered as a kind of civil wars.

The balance of power has fluctuated backwards and forwards between the houses of Austria and Bourbon ever since the reign of Henry VIII. of England, who interfered to preserve the balance even; as also did queen Elizabeth, who protected Henry IV. of France. England afterwards assisted sometimes the house of Austria, and sometimes that of Bourbon: other powers have likewise been fortuitously engaged, either by interest or necessity; by which means Europe has been involved in so many Wars.

The house of Austria, in 1711, was precluded from acceding to the Spanish monarchy, which was given to a Bourbon prince, and was dismembered by the treaties of Rastad and Baden in 1714. Spain afterwards attempted to wrest her provinces back; but ineffectually: though the war of 1734, in which Great Britain and Holland left the house of Austria to shift for itself, was still productive of greater alterations than the will of Charles II. king of Spain, who left his crown to the grandson of Louis XIV. notwithstanding he was himself a younger branch of the house of Austria. His will altered the whole system of Europe; and by the peace which terminated

minated the war of 1734, a Polish king was transplanted to Lorrain, the reigning family of Lorrain to Tuscany, and the second son of the king of Spain to Naples.

The flames of war were renewed in Europe, on the death of the emperor Charles VI. in October 1740; for the electors of Bavaria and Saxony, as also the kings of Spain and Prussia, disputed the Austrian succession with the queen of Hungary; while the kings of Great Britain and Spain were prosecuting a war entirely on a commercial account. It is necessary to lay before the reader a retrospect of those transactions, as they naturally lead to the military history of the DUKE of CUMBERLAND.

The many unjust seizures which had been made, and depredations carried on for several years in the West Indies, by Spanish guarda costas and other ships, acting under the king of Spain, or his governors, contrary to the treaties subsisting between the crowns of Great Britain and Spain, and to the law of nations, to the great prejudice of the lawful trade and commerce of the British subjects, at last exasperated the nation to call loudly upon a pusillanimous minister for a declaration of war against Spain. Great cruelties and barbarities had been exercised upon the persons of British subjects, whose vessels had been so seized; and the British colours had been insulted in the most ignominious manner. His Britannic majesty caused frequent complaints to be made to the king of Spain, of those violent and unjust proceedings; but no satisfaction or redress was given for the same. It appeared, that those evils were principally occasioned by an unwarrantable claim and pretension, set up on the part of Spain, that the guarda costas, and other ships,

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authorized by the king of Spain, might stop, detain, and search the ships and vessels of British subjects navigating in the American seas, contrary to the liberty of navigation, to which the subjects of his Britannic majesty had not only an equal right with those of the king of Spain, by the law of nations; but which was moreover expressed, acknowledged, and declared to belong to them by the most solemn treaties, and particularly by that concluded in 1670. It farther appeared, that the groundless claim and pretension; as also the unjust practice of stopping, detaining, and searching ships and vessels navigating in the seas of America, was not only of the most dangerous and destructive consequence to the lawful commerce of the British subjects; but also tended to interrupt and obstruct the free intercourse and correspondence between his Britannic majesty's dominions in Europe, and his colonies and plantations in America; and, by means thereof, to deprive him and his subjects of the benefit of those colonies and plantations; a consideration of the highest importance to his Britannic majesty and his kingdoms; and a practice which must affect, in it's consequence, all other princes and states of Europe, possessed of settlements in the West Indies, or whose subjects carried on any trade there. Many other infractions had been made on the part of Spain of the several treaties and conventions subsisting between the two crowns, and particularly of that concluded in the year 1667; as well by the exorbitant duties and impositions laid upon the trade and commerce of the British subjects, as by the breach of ancient and established privileges, stipulated for them by those treaties; for the redress of which grievances the strongest instances

instances had been made from time to time by the ministers of his Britannic majesty residing in Spain, without any effect.

A convention for making reparation to the British subjects, for the losses sustained by them, on account of the unjust seizures and depredations committed by the Spaniards in America, and in order to prevent for the future all the grievances and causes of complaint therein taken notice of, and to remove absolutely, and for ever, every thing which might give occasion thereto, was concluded * between their Britannic and most catholic majesties, on the 14th of January 1739; by which convention it was stipulated, that a certain sum † of money should be paid at London, within a term therein specified, as a balance admitted to be due on the part of Spain, to the crown and subjects of Great-Britain, which term expired on the 25th of May, and the payment of that sum was not made; whereby the convention was manifestly violated and broken by the king of Spain. Therefore, his Britannic majesty ordered that general reprisals should be granted against the king of Spain and his subjects. The king of Spain then published an order for seizing the ships, goods, and effects belonging to the British nation; caused seizures to be actually made of the goods and effects of British subjects, residing in his dominions; and also ordered them to depart out of the Spanish dominions, within a short limited time, contrary to the express stipulations of the treaties between the two crowns, even in case of a war actually declared. Upon these motives, his Britannic majesty de-

* At the Pardo. † 95,000 l.

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clared war * against the king of Spain, in October 1739.

The Spanish monarch caused a manifesto † to be published, in vindication of his dominion of the American seas, pursuant to the treaties of 1690, 1713, and 1724; of his conduct in regard to the convention; and also of the reasons why he had not paid the 95,000*l.* sterling. The spirit of the English prevailed: their king was for a just war; and war ensued.

Letters of marque or general reprisals against the ships, goods, and subjects of the king of Spain were issued about three months before; upon which his Royal Highness the DUKE of CUMBERLAND went to view the fleet assembled at Portsmouth, under the command of admiral Cavendish, who attended upon his Royal Highness, and paid him all the honours due to his illustrious rank ‡.

The following summer, the DUKE took his post in the camp at Hounslow, which he suddenly left on the 4th of June, and arrived at Portsmouth. He immediately

* This declaration of war against the king of Spain, was signed by his majesty at Kensington, the 19th of October 1739, in the thirteenth year of his reign; and it was publicly proclaimed on the 23d.

† It was dated at St. Ildefonso, the 20th of August 1739; it is too long and tedious to be particularly mentioned here; trivial in many parts, and unjust upon the whole: but these disquisitions are left to be discussed by general historians; and yet it is strange, that of so many attempts in that style, not one has considered this matter as it ought to be. — No exception to you Doctor SMOLLET, or any other SCOTSMAN.

‡ His Royal Highness, on the 24th. of July, arrived from Southampton in the commissioner's yacht at Portsmouth, on which the men of war at Spithead gave a royal salute of twenty-one guns each. His Royal Highness landed at the dock, which he thoroughly viewed: he then went with the admiral in his barge to the gun wharf, and saw all the military stores: from thence he walked into the garrison, and took a tour round the ramparts: the next day he returned on board the yacht, and had the same honours paid as on his arrival; after which, he sailed with the admiral and captains back to Southampton.

embarked

embarked on board a shallop for the isle of Wight, where he reviewed the marines in their camp, and then went on board the *Victory* man of war, as a volunteer in an intended expedition, under the command of Sir John Norris, who set sail, on the 14th, from St. Helens with a fleet of twenty-one men of war *, attended by admiral Cavendish and rear-admiral Sir Chaloner Ogle: but, on the 16th at night, the *Lion* ran foul of the *Victory* off Portland, carried away her head, and did her other considerable damage. The *Lion* lost her bowsprit, with twenty-eight of her men, who were thrown over-board by the shock, which was very alarming even to the oldest mariner; and the sea poured into the *Victory* †, some time before it could be stopped;

* This fleet consisted of eight ships of eighty guns, five of seventy guns, and eight of sixty guns; having ten thousand five hundred sea-men on board; besides two frigates of twenty guns each, four fire-ships, and one hospital ship: so that this formidable fleet, with the merchant ships under convoy, amounted to one hundred and eighty sail.

† This ship carried one hundred and ten brass guns; and, for her fine dimensions and rich ornaments of painting and gilding, was esteemed the most beautiful ship in the royal navy: but she was always unfortunate, and was totally lost in a violent storm on the 4th of October 1744. Sir John Balchen was then in the *Victory*, which was returning with the fleet under his command from the coast of Spain: but when they arrived off Ushant, a violent storm arose, on the 3d, which dispersed the whole fleet, and brought several of the ships into imminent danger.

Vice-admiral Martin had like to have been lost in the *St. George* of ninety guns; and vice-admiral Steuart, in the *Duke* of ninety guns, expected momentarily to be swallowed up: however, the whole fleet, except the *Victory*, arrived at St. Helen's, on the 10th, in a very shattered condition. Sir John Balchen was not so fortunate as the rest of the officers under his command; for the *Victory*, on the 4th, was separated from the fleet, and drove on the coast of Alderney, an island belonging to the British crown, situated about three leagues west from cape la Hogue, in Normandy, and opposite to Portland, at the distance of about eight leagues from the English shore; where she struck on the Caskets, a large and dangerous ledge of rocks, between two or three leagues south-east of Guernsey, and somewhat to the north-west of Alderney. The admiral made several signals of distress, which were distinctly heard by the

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His Royal Highness appeared greatly composed, and was complimented by the admiral for so much resolution in so young a sailor.

This accident obliged the admiral to return with the fleet to St. Hellen's, where he hoisted his flag on board the Boyne, and set sail again on the 23d, but was wind-bound in Torbay on the 27th, and continued in that situation until the 22d of August, when the fleet set sail again, and advanced some leagues beyond the Start on the 24th. The admiral then met with a strong south-west wind, which obliged him to return to Torbay, where he arrived on the 26th, and continued wind-bound until it was too late to proceed on the expedition, which was to attack the Spanish fleet in Ferrol.

The DUKE of CUMBERLAND was so much dissatisfied with this tedious expedition, that he seems from this time to have relinquished all thoughts of naval operations, and confined himself to the military scenes of action. He quitted the Boyne in Torbay, and was accompanied on shore by Sir John Norris, who arrived at his house in town, on the 13th of September, about the same time that his Royal Highness returned to St. James's, where he was joyfully received by the Royal family.

If his Royal Highness had embraced the naval service it was not only generally expected, but universally desired, that his majesty would have conferred on him the grand and important office of lord high-admiral, which

inhabitants of Alderney; but the tempest was so violent, no assistance could be given. The Victory continued her signals in the night; and, towards break of day, unhappily sunk; by which melan-

choly accident, one of the bravest among the British admirals, and captain Faulkner, an experienced officer, fatally perished, with eleven hundred sailors, and fifty gentlemen volunteers.

had

had been held in commission since the reign of queen Anne, whose royal consort enjoyed that high employment, until his death: however, the DUKE of CUMBERLAND, who always took a singular delight in the service of war, from this time entirely devoted himself to that noble profession, in which he gave early prognostics of one day being an useful subject, and a strong support to, the illustrious house from which he was descended.

The DUKE, in April 1740, had been promoted to the rank of colonel of the Cold-stream, or second regiment of foot Guards, on the unhappy death of the earl of Scarborough. And, in February 1742, his Royal Highness was made colonel of the first regiment of foot Guards, in the room of Sir Charles Wills, deceased.

The DUKE of CUMBERLAND attained the twenty-first year of his age, on the 15th of April 1742, when he was introduced into the house of peers, and placed in the chair upon the throne, on the left-hand of his majesty. And, on the 17th of May following, his Royal Highness, by his majesty's command, was introduced into the privy-council, by the earl of Harrington, lord president, where his Royal Highness took his place at the upper-end of the board, on his Majesty's left-hand.

The civil list produced a revenue of eight hundred thousand pounds a year, which was granted by parliament, as an honourable provision for the royal family: but, in 1739, an act of Parliament was passed, to enable his majesty to settle an annuity of fifteen thousand pounds

on

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on the DUKE of CUMBERLAND, and the heirs of his body; and another of 24,000*l.* on the four princesses*.

Thus the DUKE of CUMBERLAND became invested with an honorable command in the army, with his illustrious rank as a legislator in the senate, and with a princely provision for the maintenance of his household. His royal highness had a manly beautiful person, and was of an advantageous stature, fit for the appearance of a soldier, in which he is now to be represented. Here he begins to assume the rising genius of his military character. Little studied in the fierce, cogent, intrepid, magnanimous opposition to ministerial craft, meanness, corruption, and venality, in those deluded days, under a timid and prostituted administration; he took the nobler and fairer path to military honor, and exalted heroism; easy to tread at first, but difficult to acquire at last. He was an Englishman by birth, and was resolved to prove himself as such by his merit, which he had now an opportunity to exhibit on the grand theatre of military contention in Germany†.

It has been observed before, that the death of the emperor ‡ Charles VI. in October 1740, renewed the flames

* When this act obtained the royal assent, on June 14, the prince of Wales was present in his seat, and the speaker of the house of Commons made a speech to the throne. The duke and his sisters sat on stools, and on the king's assenting to the bill for settling annuities on them after his demise, they all rose up, made their obeisances to the throne, and then to both houses of parliament.

† I may be taxed with indiscretion, if I compare the DUKE of CUMBERLAND with Alcibiades, in his younger days: but, surely, I cannot be censured, if, in many

respects, I think him like Edward the Black Prince. I shall not draw the parallel here; but it shall be done.

‡ He died at Vienna on the 9th, in the 56th year of his age. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Lewis late duke of Brunswick Blankenburgh, in 1708; and left issue by this princess two daughters, the eldest of whom, Maria Theresa, married Francis Stephen, grand duke of Tuscany, and duke of Lorraine, in 1736; and her sister, the archduchess Mary-Anne, afterwards married his brother prince Charles of Lorraine.

of war in Europe. The house of Austria was potent within itself; but the imperial title was only a tinsel honor. All the powers of Europe had guarantied the indivisibility of the Austrian dominions; yet most of them consulted how to dismember it for their particular advantages. The queen of Hungary found her succession disputed by the electors of Bavaria and Saxony, as also by the kings of Spain and Prussia. The two first had tolerable pretensions; but it was amazing to see the house of Bourbon lay a claim to the whole inheritance of the house of Austria: and, though his Prussian * majesty had a good claim to some part of Silesia, it was little expected he would get the whole. A general war was looked upon as inevitable: but how greatly was human policy confounded, when the storm arose from a quarter where it was least expected!

His Prussian majesty suddenly invaded Silesia in December 1740, with a powerful army: he took possession of Breslau without opposition, reduced Glogaw, and defeated marshal Neuperg at Molwitz.

The elector of Bavaria, at the head of a French army, took Prague, and was crowned emperor: but his very elevation rendered him one of the most unhappy princes upon earth; for he lost his capital; and, though the head of the empire, could find no protection for himself.

* This great and glorious monarch, Charles Frederic, king of Prussia and elector of Brandenburg, was the eldest son of Frederic William II. by the princess Sophia-Dorothy, daughter of George I. king of Great Britain, and elector of Hanover. He was born Jan. 24, 1712; and, in

1733, married Elizabeth Christina, sister of the duke of Brunswick Wolfenbuttle. He succeeded to the throne on the death of his father May 20, 1740; and, as elector, he has the seventh seat in the electoral college, and is great chamberlain of the empire.

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His Britannic majesty, and the king of Sardinia, assisted the queen of Hungary. The battle of Czaclaw was fought in 1742, between the king of Prussia and prince Charles of Lorrain; in which the king was victorious; and, having obtained what he wanted, concluded the treaty of Breslau; whereby France lost the alliance of Prussia and Saxony.

The French army awed Hanover into a neutrality; but were soon expelled Bohemia with incredible loss. The principal powers at war engaged the other princes and states in their quarrel, which became general, from the extremities of Italy to the full extent of Germany: so that this contest for the balance of power, rendered Great Britain and France real principals, under the name of auxiliaries.

The treaty of Worms was concluded, in 1743, between the kings of Great Britain and Sardinia, the queen of Hungary, the elector of Saxony, and the States-General; which perpetuated the war: while the negotiations of the emperor at Hanau were rejected, which would have settled a peace.

The state of her Hungarian majesty was so wonderfully changed, that, instead of the melancholy prospect of inevitable ruin, she had the pleasing scene of success before her, and the probability of restraining the ambition of France. While marshal Khevenhuller triumphantly spread the Austrian banner in Bavaria; while the Prussians and Saxons were conciliating their differences; and the French skulking behind the ramparts of Prague; his Britannic majesty, firm to his resolution of assisting the queen of Hungary, used all his power at home, and exerted all his influence abroad, to alleviate her misfortunes,
re-establish

re-establish her glory, and humble the insolence of her oppressors: at the same time, his Sardinian majesty assisted the arms of the Hungarian queen against the united force of the French, Spaniards, Neapolitans, Modenese, and Genoese in Italy.

All this was done by the vigilance of Lord Carteret *, who then presided in the British ministry; and who, conscious of the bad effects which had resulted from the timidity of the old minister, was sensible that nothing could preserve the Austrian family but a vigorous and seasonable support from Great Britain; because, if she stood indolently by, as she had formerly done, while her natural ally was strongly depressed by her natural enemy, she might have eventually found her own ruin in that of the house of Austria. Therefore lord Carteret was for supporting her Hungarian majesty, when her circumstances were imagined to be past redress: but his lordship represented this as a fallacious opinion; he insisted that she might not only be relieved from her present misery, but reinstated in her former glory; and he as nobly put what he said into execution: which proved his superior ability of head, and his integrity of heart; his consistency in council, and his resolution in action.

His Britannic majesty on the 24th of April 1742, in consequence of the requisition of the queen of Hungary, appointed several regiments of horse, dragoons, and foot,

* This nobleman, in Feb. 1742, was made one of the principal secretaries of state, in the room of lord Harrington, who was advanced to the dignity of an earl, and made president of the council. At the same time, the marquis of Tweeddale, who had married one of lord Carteret's daughters, was

appointed to the long vacant office of Secretary of State for Scotland. Mr. Pulteney was sworn of his majesty's most honorable privy-council. And Mr. Sandys was made chancellor and under-treasurer of the Exchequer, in the room of Sir Robert Walpole created earl of Orford.

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to embark as soon as possible for Flanders, to be there under the command of lieutenant-general Honeywood, until the arrival of the earl of Stair *, who was then to take the command. This body of troops was intended for the relief of the queen of Hungary, and was composed of the third and fourth troops of horse-guards, with the second troop of horse-grenadier guards, because his majesty intended to be present with them in Germany; the king's regiment of horse, and major-general Ligonier's: the six regiments of dragoons commanded by the generals Honeywood, Campbell, Hawley, Cadogan, Rich, and Cope: the three regiments of foot-guards; with the twelve regiments of Howard, Cornwallis, Durooure, Pulteney, Campbell, Peers, Handasyde, Hufke, Bragg, Ponsonby, Johnson, and Bligh. His majesty also appointed the following general officers to command those troops: field-marshal, earl of Stair; the lieutenants-general, Honeywood, earl of Dunmore, and Campbell; the majors-general, Howard, Cope, Ligonier, Hawley, and earl of Albemarle; and the brigadiers, Cornwallis, earl of Effingham, Pulteney, Bragg, Hufke, and Ponsonby.

On the 27th, his majesty and the duke of CUMBERLAND went from St. James's to Blackheath, and reviewed two of the regiments ordered for Flanders: after which, one of them marched directly to Deptford, and the other to Woolwich, where they embarked: and, on the 17th of May, his majesty, attended by the DUKE, and many of the general officers, went to Kew-Green, and

* The right honorable John earl of Stair was appointed ambassador-extraordinary, and plenipotentiary to the States-General of the United

Provinces, in March 1742: and soon after he was made field-marshal of his majesty's forces.

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WILLIAM DUKE of CUMBERLAND. 15

reviewed several other regiments of foot, who afterwards marched to Deptford, and embarked for Flanders.

These forces were safely landed, and composed an army of 16,339 men, who were to be joined by an auxiliary body of Hanoverians and Hessians in British pay. Those auxiliaries, amounting to 22,000 men, arrived at Brussels in the beginning of October, and encamped in the plain of Digheim, where they were to be joined by a body of Austrian troops, draughted from the garrisons in Mons, Charleroy, Aeth, Dendermond, and Luxemburg. It was expected that his Britannic majesty would have arrived in Flanders, and opened the campaign with the siege of Dunkirk, at the head of this united army, which might have penetrated into France: but this was prevented by the irresolution of the Dutch in furnishing their troops; which was one of the greatest mistakes committed the whole war *. However, when the British forces were ready to join the Hanoverians and Hessians, and begin their march to Germany, a counter-order arrived, by which the former were to winter in Flanders, and the latter in the bishopric of Liege; so that nothing could be attempted on that side until next spring; for it was thought, that the Hanoverians and Hessians ought not to attack the emperor; and without the assistance of the Dutch no army could be formed numerous enough to attack France.

His excellency the earl of Stair opened his embassy, at a public audience he had of the States General, on the 10th of April, in an elegant speech, warm with all the force

* On this occasion, M. Voltaire says, that "he was witness of the amazement and concern of lord Stair, who said, that the king

his master had lost an opportunity, which he would never meet with again."

and

and spirit of a patriot, a soldier, and a Briton, to awaken the Dutch from their apathy, and convince them of their danger; to induce them to arm, to join the British forces, and preserve their own security, by protecting the house of Austria. He represented to the assembly, that "his Britannic majesty, closely united as he was with the republic by the strongest ties of mutual interest, for the reciprocal support of their common liberty and independence, was desirous, in that delicate and dangerous conjuncture, to give them the most convincing proofs of his perfect friendship and entire confidence. That, for this reason, his majesty had sent him there, with full powers to concert and take, jointly with their High Mightinesses the proper measures for preserving the liberty of Europe, and re-establishing a just balance of power; as likewise for maintaining the independence of his own kingdom, and of the dominions of their High Mightinesses, by preserving the house of Austria, in conformity to common engagements." He concluded, "that the unanimous consent of the British subjects, was such a surety to their High Mightinesses for his majesty's good and generous intentions, as could not but be very agreeable to them: And the king flattered himself, that the subjects of their High Mightinesses were in the like sentiments for the preservation of their own independence, and of the public liberty."

Upon the arrival of the British troops in Flanders, M. Van Hoey, the Dutch ambassador at Paris, was greatly disappointed; as he imagined that the resolution of the States, not to enter into a war with France, would have prevented this embarkation: but when he found that the British ministry persisted in their resolutions, he
 freely

freely and copiously expatiated on their conduct. Besides, as the States were now potently armed, visibly able, and gradually inclining to join their forces in the general quarrel against the violaters of the pragmatic sanction; the marquis de Fenelon *, the French ambassador at the Hague, exerted all his talents, to circumvent every endeavor of the British ambassador tending to influence the States General towards the assistance of the Austrian family. He particularly memorialized against the arrival of the British troops in Flanders; which the earl of Stair frustrated, by declaring to the States, that his Britannic majesty, had no intention to give any disturbance to France, by this step; his design being, not so much to assist the queen of Hungary, though bound by treaty to grant her assistance, as to secure the interest of his subjects, who had advanced considerable sums † to her majesty: and that, to give a proof of his moderation and desire of peace, his Britannic majesty was willing to withdraw his troops from Flanders, provided France, at the same time, would withdraw her armies from the Empire.

Cardinal Fleury, would willingly have kept his pupil and king in ignorance of the condition of his forces in Bohemia; which conduct was inconsistent with his usual probity and ingenuity in conveying his instructions to the royal ear ‡. When this minister found such a potent

* This nobleman was nephew to the celebrated archbishop of Cambray, author of *Telemachus*. He was a minister of great abilities, and of the politest address.

† The Silesia loan; of which hereafter.

‡ The king, immediately after his coronation at Rheims, having

heard it said to his old preceptor, "that his majesty was then to take an eternal farewell to truth;" the young monarch asked the cardinal, with great astonishment, "why?" And having received for answer, "that truth was chased from the thrones of kings by flattery;" the royal youth replied in the most

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opposition to his ambitious projects, he was desirous of promoting a reconciliation between France and Austria. This he had strongly, but ineffectually, solicited. At last, he wrote a letter to count Konigsfegg, president of the aulic council at Vienna, dated July 11, 1742, by which he offered some private propositions for a peace; but these were rejected, because the queen of Hungary could have little dependence on the fidelity of France, and chose rather to trust her security to the valor of her victorious troops, and the confidence she reposed in the friendship of her allies.

His Britannic majesty had looked on the troubles of Europe with that concern which public virtue inspires; he had seen the sufferings of the queen of Hungary, with that compassion which is always due to magnanimity oppressed; and formed resolutions for her assistance which courage naturally incites; but with that caution and secrecy which experience dictates. He remembered, that though he was the friend of the queen of Hungary, he was to consider himself as the king of Great-Britain, and the protector of a people already laboring under the weight of an expensive war with Spain; and that he was not to ruin their forces in romantic expeditions, or exhaust their treasures in granting unnecessary assistance, to an ally that seemed irrecoverably lost. Therefore, his majesty waited to observe the event of the war, and to discover whether the incessant struggles of the

gracious manner, "I desire you will always tell me the truth." On which, the cardinal promised the king never to disguise any thing to him; and kept his word more religiously than could have been well expected from so saga-

cious a priest; because he conceived, that, daring to speak the most disagreeable truths to kings, is always a most evident mark of sincere respect and true affection for their sacred persons.

Austrian

Austrians would be able to throw off the load with which they were oppressed: but he found that their spirit, however ardent, could not supply the want of strength. He saw them fainting under insuperable labors; and that, though they were in no danger of being conquered by the valor of their enemies, they must soon be wearied in their numbers. His majesty then knew, that by sending them speedy assistance he promoted the interest of his people, while he gratified his own inclinations in the support of injured royalty. On this account he supplied his Austrian ally with such sums as enabled her to levy new forces, and distress her enemies: while, with his influence, he created her useful friends, and reconciled some of her potent foes. But to secure the success that the queen of Hungary had obtained, and to take from the enemies of liberty all hopes of recovering the advantages they had lost, his majesty no longer confined his assistance to tedious negotiations and pecuniary supplies: he knew that alliances are always best observed when they confer real security, or produce manifest advantage; and that money is not always equivalent to armies. Besides, her Hungarian majesty had requested, that a British army might appear on the continent in her favor, because she had an high opinion of the terror and reputation of the British arms: therefore, his majesty acted openly in defence of his ally, filled Flanders once more with British troops, and garrisoned the frontier-towns by the forces of that nation by which they were acquired.

These troops, on their arrival in Flanders, were too inconsiderable a body to commence hostilities against the French; yet they manifested the firm intention of

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his Britannic majesty to support the house of Austria; they awed it's enemies, and encouraged it's friends; they alarmed France, obliged her to keep her forces within her own territories, made her apprehensive of a design on Dunkirk *, and, by drawing her forces near that quarter, kept so many troops from either relieving her own army in Bohemia, or the Spaniards in Italy: besides, by their situation, these troops might be reinforced in such a manner as to form a potent army.

As soon as the British ministry received intelligence of the designs of France, to send the army commanded by marshal Maillebois from Westphalia to the relief of Prague, the council immediately assembled to consult what was the most necessary step to be taken on this important occasion; when it was determined "to assemble an army in Flanders, capable of acting offensively against the French." For this purpose, there were already in that country sixteen thousand of the British troops, who could be soon joined by the six thousand Hessians in British pay, and by twelve thousand Austrians, which together would compose a body of thirty four thousand men. But as such a force would be incapable of annoying the French, who could soon form a superior army in Flanders, it was resolved to take another body of troops into British pay, to consist of sixteen thousand men, and thereby to augment the army, intended to be assembled in Flanders, to fifty thousand men.

* On July 12, the earl of Stair and Mr. Trevor presented a memorial to the States General, wherein they mentioned the re-fortification of Dunkirk, and in-

fisted that the States should appoint commissaries, in conjunction with others from Great Britain, to inspect those works, pursuant to the treaty of Utrecht.

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At this time, by the calculation of regiments, there were twenty-three thousand men on the British establishment: so that if sixteen thousand had been detached from these forces, there would then, if the regiments had been complete, have remained only seven thousand men to protect the country, and which would not have been a man less than was maintained at home in the wars of queen Anne: but, as the regiments were extremely deficient, it was thought proper to raise the sixteen thousand additional troops, as auxiliaries from some of the foreign princes or powers. The Hanoverians were fixed on for many reasons *; and as they were subjects of the same prince, whom they highly venerated, it was natural to imagine they would be faithful to him, and support his quarrel with a zeal which could never be expected from the mercenary troops of any other foreign power.

The electoral troops of Hanover were augmented to twenty eight thousand men, which were full as many

* Denmark, Prussia, Saxony, Hanover, Holland and Switzerland, were the only powers that could furnish this force; and to the first three, and the last two, were many objections. The Danes were inclined to France; they had already broke through a similar engagement with Great Britain, by refusing to furnish the 12,000 men formerly contracted for, and were upon the point of engaging in a quarrel of their own, which would require all their force. The Prussians, if they could be procured, were not to be depended upon at that time, when under the influence of France. The elector of Saxony was too apprehensive of danger from the power and design of Prussia, to hazard his own secu-

rity in such precarious circumstances, by sending out so many troops, when his Prussian majesty was daily collecting his armies. The Dutch could not be solicited for this purpose, because if they had found the British nation ready to pay the Republican troops, they would not have done it themselves; they would not have exerted their proper force, nor would they have been induced to accord with that alliance, which was one of the most principal reasons for collecting so great a force. And as to the Swiss cantons, it was impossible to effect their march into Flanders, having above 400 miles to pass upon the borders of the Rhine, exposed to the interruption of France.

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as the revenue of the Elector could maintain at home, and greatly too numerous for that revenue to support the one half of them abroad; for the whole annual revenue of Hanover seldom exceeds four hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling. It was therefore resolved by the British ministry to take a body of Hanoverians into their pay, and a contract was concluded, whereby these troops were stipulated to consist of five thousand five hundred and thirteen horse, and ten thousand seven hundred and fifty five foot; in all sixteen thousand two hundred and sixty eight men; for which the British ministry was to allow the annual sum of five hundred and ninety two thousand six hundred and ninety seven pounds, for the pay of the forces; and for levy-money * one hundred and thirty nine thousand three hundred and thirteen pounds sterling.

The campaign and negotiations in 1742, terminated quite contrary to the hopes and system of the court of Versailles. Saxony and Prussia were disjoined from the

* This article of levy-money, in such treaties, is always meant for the furnishing and completing both horse and foot. In other contracts, the customary sum for levy-money, in almost every instance, was 80 crowns for each horseman, 60 crowns for each dragoon, and 30 for each foot soldier. According to this computation, the 16,268 Hanoverians, furnished by this contract, should have been allowed for levy-money 171,796 l. which was 32,483 l. more than was charged by the contract: and it was always usual, in such treaties, for the furnishing prince or power, to receive a yearly subsidy, besides other allowances, which were entirely remitted by this contract; and if insisted upon, according to

the proportion paid to the king of Sweden, who, besides levy-money and pay, received, for only 6,000 Hessians, the annual subsidy of 33,000 l. this for 16,000 Hanoverians, would have amounted to near 100,000 l. a year; and, though omitted on the present occasion, this was an article which every other German prince had done, then did, and ever will insist upon, however arbitrary against their subsidients. But, to make this contract the more favourable, his Britannic majesty, in his electoral capacity, consented that their pay should commence only upon the day they began to march out of the electorate; insisting upon no terms, as to the time they should be retained in pay.

alliance

alliance of France, and with circumstances that promised an impossibility of their uniting again during the present contention. Bavaria was not only incapable of affording any material assistance to the views of France, but actually a considerable part of it in possession of the Austrians: two great armies of the veteran troops of France totally destroyed; diseases and despair the visible companions of the remaining forces of the emperor and France, cooped up in Bavaria and a corner of Bohemia, in the utmost distress for provisions, and not to be recruited until spring: while the Austrians, superior in number, were flushed with success, enriched by plunder, and inured to arms. The French ministry detested and despised by their own people, for their ill success, and ruinous measures: the queen of Hungary repossessed of the greatest part of her dominions; and, of a treasure inestimable, the united hearts of all her subjects, moved to the greatest degree of tenderness by her danger and the injustice of her enemies, and warmed with the most fervent zeal by her magnanimous conduct. The king of Sardinia firm to his engagements, and infinitely servicable in repelling the attempts of Spain: the Spaniards checked and disappointed in all their Italian views; and the king of Naples awed by the British fleet. Sweden confounded by French councils, and punished by the Russian arms, courting the mediation of his Britannic majesty for their preservation; though, but the year before, they had been led by France to disturb the peace of the north in contempt of Great-Britain, and probably not without a remote view to her own destruction. The Russians sensible of the dissimulation of France, triumphant over the Swedes,

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and more than ever in amity with England. A numerous army in the British pay, fresh and ready to enter upon action in the spring. The Dutch formidably armed, and almost ready to join the Austrian allies. While the Turks, immoveable against the seducements of France, continued their faith to the queen of Hungary, and thought of nothing but their own preservation against the attempts of Persia.

Such was the situation of public affairs at the close of the year 1742: it was therefore with the highest satisfaction, that every lover of mankind surveyed the alterations that had lately been produced in the state of Europe; and every Englishman might well express a more immediate and particular pleasure to observe his country rising again into it's former dignity, to see his own nation shake off dependence, rousing from inactivity, covering the ocean with her fleets, and awing the continent with her armies; bidding defiance once more to the rapacious invaders of neighbouring kingdoms, and the daring projectors of universal dominion; once more exerting her influence in foreign courts, and summoning the monarchs of the west to another confederacy against the power of France, their universal enemy.

C H A P.

CHAP. II.

The resolution of his BRITANNIC majesty and the BRITISH parliament to support the queen of HUNGARY: opposition thereto: the HANOVERIAN troops continued in BRITISH pay. His majesty closes the session of parliament; and makes a grand military promotion, when the DUKE of CUMBERLAND is appointed a MAJOR-GENERAL. His majesty appoints a REGENCY, and embarks for HOLLAND, with his ROYAL HIGHNESS the DUKE; their arrival at HANOVER; and the situation of affairs upon the continent. — The state of the military forces of AUSTRIA and FRANCE for the campaign of 1743. The declaration of his PRUSSIAN majesty against foreign troops entering GERMANY; and the resolution of the STATES-GENERAL to assist the queen of HUNGARY with 20,000 men.

WHEN the house of Bourbon was thus diminished of it's power, it's alliance rejected, and it's influence disregarded, the British parliament assembled, on Nov. 16, 1742, and his majesty went to the house of Peers, where he opened the second session, with a speech to both houses, importing, “ That he had, in pursuance of the repeated advice of his parliament, taken such a part as appeared to him most conducive to the support of the house of Austria, and to the restoring and securing the balance of power, by assembling the British, Hanoverian, and Hessian troops in Flanders, in order to form such a force, in conjunction with the Austrian troops, as might be of service to the common cause in all events; and he doubted not, but he should have the assistance of the parliament, in the support of those necessary measures. That the magnanimity and firmness of the queen of Hungary, notwithstanding so many nume-

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rous armies sent against her; the resolute conduct of the king of Sardinia, and his strict adherence to his engagements, though attacked in his own dominions; the stop which had been put to the ambitious designs of the court of Spain in Italy, to which the operations of his fleet* in the Mediterranean had so visibly contributed; the change of affairs in the North, which had appeared by the public requisition made by Sweden, of his good offices, for procuring a peace between Russia and that crown; and the defensive alliances agreed upon, not only between him and the Czarina, but also between him and the king of Prussia, were events which could not have been expected, if Great Britain had not shewn a seasonable spirit and vigor in the defence and assistance of it's ancient allies; and in the maintenance of the liberties of Europe, as well as of it's own true and lasting interest."

The next day, both houses of parliament presented very dutiful and loyal addresses to his majesty; expressing their approbation of the measures he had taken for the support of the queen of Hungary, and the restoration of the balance of power †. But when the motions were

*Vice-admiral Matthews blocked up the conjunct squadrons of France and Spain in the port of Toulon: part of his fleet scoured the coast of Catalonia, where they bombarded the towns of Mataro and Palamos: while commodore Martin compelled his Sicilian majesty to sign a neutrality, and recal the Neapolitan troops from the Spanish army in Italy.

† The lords particularly represented to his majesty, "That the good effects which the vigor exerted, under his authority and influence, in assisting their ancient allies, and maintaining the liberties of Europe, had already had

upon the affairs of the queen of Hungary, upon the conduct of several powers, and the state of Europe in general, were visible to all the world. That it was with the utmost satisfaction they observed them, and relied on his majesty's known care and attention to the public welfare, to pursue and improve them: and they could not but entertain well-grounded hopes, that so great an example, and a steady perseverance in the same measures, would inspire the like spirit and resolution into other powers, equally engaged by treaties and common interest, to take the like part."—The commons represented,

made

made for these addresses, they met with a vigorous opposition, before they passed in the affirmative; which was occasioned by the influence of the disgusted members, who had promoted another opposition to the new ministry.

The amount of the national debt was 48,915,000*l.* and though it was so considerable, the grants met with little opposition: they amounted to 5,912,000*l.* and the supplies exceeded that sum by 650,000*l.* However, when the estimates for the 16,000 British troops in Flanders came to be considered, the granting the supply for that service was vehemently opposed; and it was insisted, that those troops ought to be recalled home and disbanded; which must have been a very impolitic step, and would have circumvented every hope of supporting the queen of Hungary: but this opposition was overruled, and 534,700*l.* were granted for the maintenance of those troops in Flanders, for the year 1743; as also the sum of 647,800*l.* for the support of 23,600 men at home; and 206,250*l.* for the maintenance of 11,550 marines; besides, 2,080,000*l.* for the service of 40,000 seamen.

“ That as they thought the support of the house of Austria, and securing the balance of power, were inseparable from the true interest of the British monarchy; they desired, in the strongest manner, to express their grateful sense of the early care taken by his majesty in forming such an army in the Low countries, as might be of service to those great and desirable ends: and as they were satisfied, that a force sufficient for that purpose, could not have been so readily assembled, as by his majesty's sending a body of his elec-

toral troops, together with the Hessians, to join the British and Austrian forces in those parts; they were determined, cheerfully and effectually, to support his majesty, in all such measures: assuring his majesty, that they would, with the greatest alacrity and readiness, grant such supplies as should be found necessary for perfecting the great work, in which his majesty was engaged; for prosecuting with vigor the just and necessary war with Spain, and for maintaining the honor and security of his majesty and his kingdom.”

When

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When the members in the opposition perceived their own debility to atchieve any thing by dint of strength, they began to try what they could effect by artifice. It was insinuated, that the first principles of the British policy, however long maintained, were erroneous in themselves; and, that considering the former immense expences of the nation, the little fruit that was reaped from them, and the probability of being still from time to time engaged in new quarrels, it was worthy inquiry, if it was not proper to enter upon a new system. That it was visible the nation could never make any acquisitions upon the continent, to reimburse their expences; and that they had therefore, consumed themselves only for the benefit of other powers. That the British navy was a sufficient protection for them against the whole world: that the regular troops which those views obliged them to maintain, would prove the ruin of their liberties; and the vast taxes produce the ruin of their trade: so that it was thrown out as a doubt, fit for the nation to consider, whether it was not better to leave the rest of the world to shift for itself, as well as it could; and for Britons to intrench within their own natural boundaries, take their chance, and defend themselves. This was a doctrine inconsistent with all sense and reason, and contrary to the universal principles of policy, by which the British nation had been governed from the conquest to that time. It was a doctrine of the greatest danger, because it is an invariable maxim, that whoever becomes master of the continent, must in the end obtain the dominion of the sea.

The ministry, towards the close of the last session, had contracted for 16,000 Hanoverians, to be taken into
British

British pay; and had done this, on justifiable reasons, without the concurrence of parliament, whose approbation was expected, when they assembled the next session. But such a procedure revived all the seeds of discontent; and the house of commons, in a grand committee of the supply, entered upon a very warm debate, concerning the estimate for those troops; when it was urged, that they could be of no utility, that no supply ought to be granted on so improper an occasion, and that it was contrary to the national interest to retain such unserviceable auxiliaries in British pay. However, it was proved, that the preservation of Europe required that the crown of Great Britain should assist the queen of Hungary, and that such assistance could not be properly granted without this body of Hanoverians: therefore, it was resolved, that 265,000*l.* should be granted, for defraying the charge of 5,513 horse, and 10,755 foot, of the troops of Hanover, together with the general officers and the train of artillery, in the pay of Great Britain, from the 31st of August, to the 25th of December 1742: and it was also resolved, that a further sum of 392,697*l.* should be granted, for continuing those troops in the British pay, for one year, until the 25th of December 1743*.

Though the continuance of the Hanoverian forces in British pay had gained the approbation of the house of commons, it was afterwards more vigorously opposed in the house of lords: for, on the 1st of February, on reading the order of the day, “for taking into conside-

* On a division, there were 260 votes to 193 in the committee; and on the report 230 to 177.

ration the several estimates of the charge of the forces in the pay of Great Britain, it was moved * to address his majesty, to disband this body of Hanoverians: but, though it was strongly supported, after a long debate, it was rejected, by the determination of 90 lords against 35; which occasioned a protest entered and signed, by 26 lords.

A jealousy of Hanover had prevailed in England for several years; and it was now asserted by those in the opposition, that the electoral troops would not be employed in Germany against the head of the empire: and that the restoring the balance of power in Europe, by raising the house of Austria to it's former condition of influence, dominion, and strength, was an object quite unattainable by the arms of Great Britain alone; and for the attaining of which no other power had joined, or was likely to join with them, in any offensive engagements, either against the emperor or France: but, if the queen of Hungary was to be assisted, it was pre-

* The earl of Stanhope rose up; and, after observing, that these troops were raised without the advice or consent of parliament; that it was a new tax laid upon the nation, by the despotic will of the ministers; and that the demands made for their support, might be said to be a tax laid upon the people, not by the parliament, but by the court; his Lordship moved, "That an humble address should be presented to his majesty, to beseech and advise him, that, considering the excessive and grievous expences incurred by the great number of foreign troops then in the pay of Great Britain, his majesty would be graciously pleased, in compassion to his peo-

ple, loaded already with such numerous and heavy taxes, such large and growing debts, and greater annual expences than the nation, at any time, ever before sustained, to exonerate his subjects of the charge and burden of those mercenaries who were taken into the British service the last year without the advice or consent of parliament."—The chief speakers who seconded the motion were, the duke of Bedford; the earls of Chesterfield, and Sandwich; viscount Londale; and lord Hervey. Those who opposed it were, the lord Chancellor; the duke of Newcastle; the earls of Cholmondeley, and Bath; lord Carteret, and lord Bathurst.

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tended that the ministry had entered into wrong measures for granting her the proper assistance; because, from the situation of her affairs, and that of all Europe, as well as the particular interest and policy of Great Britain, her majesty would have been more effectually assisted with a supply of money, than with a reinforcement of men*.

The house of Austria was at that time fighting for existence and security; not for conquests, laurels, and the festivity of triumphs. She was still to be supported by British influence: but if Flanders, with all her strength, wealth, and fertility, was quietly to fall into the arms of France, farewell to the liberties of Europe!

If the subversion of the house of Austria was to be prevented, certainly it was more eligible to support it with men than money; for by perpetually recruiting so considerable an army, the Austrian dominions, populous as they were, must in time have been deficient of opposing France. But there is a natural superiority confederated powers have over a single nation; which was manifested in the preceding general war, by those advantages the united powers had over France: because, the loss of men with the former, falling more equally, was less felt;

* They argued upon this principle; that the 38,000 men in pay for her service, cost the British nation 1,400,000*l.* and it was charged, that one half of such a sum, would have enabled her to maintain a greater number of men, capable of acting wherever her affairs might require.—Surely this fallacious way of argument, uttered by some of the most eminent and distinguished men in the nation, never could be adopted

as their real opinions; but was only enforced, in a spleenic mood, to oppose every measure, right or wrong, that might inflame the nation against the ministry. It was unjust to exert themselves in a condemnation of those measures, that had solely a tendency to the preservation of the Austrian family, and of those territories, which it was once thought so absolutely necessary to defend, and so much honor to require.

while

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while the total loss of the latter fell upon her own nation, from whence alone she was able to recruit.

This circumstance must have enabled her Hungarian majesty to sustain the war longer than the French : and not only this, but there was another objection against furnishing the queen with a pecuniary aid ; because it could not be less than a million sterling, and so glaring a sum might have tempted the Austrian ministers to a misapplication of a considerable part of it.

The opinions of the English people are principally regulated by the determinations of their parliament : because, they consider this august assembly, as the place where truth and reason obtain a candid and impartial audience ; as a place sacred to justice ; and they watch the parliamentary decisions as the great rules of policy, and standing maxims of right. Of this the ministers were so fully sensible, that, after the conclusion of the debates on the motion against the Hanoverian forces, they did not think their victory sufficiently apparent in repelling that censure, unless a motion was admitted, which might imply a full and unlimited approbation of their measures. Therefore, a motion was made *, that an address should be presented to his majesty, to retain the Hanoverians in

* By the earl of Scarborough, who moved for an address, importing, " That, in the unsettled and dangerous situation of affairs in Europe, the sending a considerable body of British forces into the Austrian Netherlands, and augmenting the same with 16,000 of his majesty's electoral troops, and the Hessians in British pay ; and thereby, in conjunction with the queen of Hungary's troops in the

Low countries, forming a great army for the service of the common cause, was a wise, useful, and necessary measure, manifestly tending to the support and encouragement of his majesty's allies, the real and effectual assistance of the queen of Hungary, and the restoring and maintaining the balance of power ; and had already produced very advantageous consequences."

British

British pay. " This motion was objected to *, and the question was put, which was carried in the affirmative, by 78 lords against 35.

This convinced the opposition that the ministry had then too much influence to be retarded in their measures: however, no less than thirteen of the nobility, and eighty-eight members of the house of Commons, assembled on the 15th of March, and formed a sort of an association to subvert the ministry.

His majesty was determined to visit his German dominions in the year 1743; and, on the 21st of April, closed the session with a speech from the throne, to both houses of parliament, wherein he thanked them for their zeal, prudence, and dispatch; and acquainted them, " That the British nation, and the common cause, might reap the most beneficial fruits of their vigorous resolutions, he had, at the requisition of the queen of Hungary, ordered his army, in conjunction with the Austrian troops, to pass the Rhine, as auxiliaries to her Hungarian majesty, for her support and assistance, and to oppose any dangerous measures that might affect the balance and liberties of Europe, or hinder the re-establishment of the public tranquillity upon just and solid foundations †."

After this speech, his majesty prorogued the parliament, and was impatient to embark for his German dominions, to put himself at the head of the allied army, and be on the spot to give his directions for the operations of the campaign.

* By the earls of Chesterfield and Oxford.

† His majesty also informed them, " That he had continued a strong squadron in the Mediterranean, and another in the West Indies, in order to carry on the

great work of distressing the Spaniards, and reducing them to safe and honorable terms of peace; as well as of maintaining the rights of navigation and commerce belonging to his subjects."

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His majesty, on the 26th of February, made a grand promotion of general officers; appointing Philip Honeywood, esq. general of horse; lord Mark Ker, general of foot: eight lieutenant generals, among whom were John Cope, and John Ligonier, esquires: eight major generals; among whom were the duke of Richmond; John Guise esq. the earl of Albemarle; his Royal Highness the DUKE of CUMBERLAND; Stephen Cornwallis, Archibald Hamilton, esquires; and the earl of Rothes: the major generals, Alexander Irwin, Richard St. George, John Campbell, William Blakeney, William Handasyde, Humphry Bland, James Ogleshorpe, esquires; lord Delawar, and the duke of Marlborough. And soon after, Peter Campbell, John Jones, Richard Phillips, Roger Handasyde, Henry Hawley, esquires, lord Tyrawley, and James Scott esq. were promoted to the rank of lieutenant generals.

The regency appointed to transact the business of the government, during the absence of his majesty, consisted of the archbishop of Canterbury; the lord chancellor; the dukes of Grafton, Dorset, Devonshire, Newcastle, Bolton, Montague and Richmond; the marquis of Tweeddale; the earls of Harrington, Bath, Wilmington, Pembroke, Winchelsea, and Ilay; lord Gower, lord Carteret; and Henry Pelham, esq.

On the 27th of April, between four and five in the morning, his majesty and the DUKE of CUMBERLAND set out from St. James's for Gravesend, where they embarked for Holland: they were detained a short time at Sheerness, by the wind; but they landed safely at Helvoetsluys, on the 2d of May, and arrived at Hanover, on the 6th; while
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the British troops and their allies were assembling in Germany.

The expulsion of the French from Bohemia, in 1742, gave a general alacrity and spirit to her Hungarian majesty, her subjects, and her allies. His Britannic majesty declared his resolution of vigorously assisting her in the ensuing campaign; the king of Sardinia, renewed his promises of fidelity; and the Dutch were inclinable to grant her a considerable body of their troops. The court of Vienna was emerging from the gloom of oppression; and, by the courage of the heroic prince Charles Alexander *, of Lorrain, directed by the prudence of the glorious marshal Khevenhuller, began to beam forth the rays of that ancient lustre which had elevated the Austrian family to so much grandeur and sublimity.

As it was expected that France would withdraw her forces out of Germany, or provide a numerous army against the spring; the court of Vienna entered into a consultation with the British court, concerning the operations of the campaign. It was proposed, that the Austrian forces should be augmented to 180,000 men; of which, 93,000 were to be employed in Germany; 27,000 in Italy; in Flanders and upon the Rhine; 20,000; in the Trentine, Tirol, and the other adjacent parts of Bavaria, 15,000: upon the Adriatic, 12,000, ready to succor the Italian armies, or awe his Sicilian

* This prince was born Dec. 12, 1712, and was only brother of Francis Stephen, duke of Lorrain, who married the arch-duchess Maria Theresa Feb. 12, 1736. That princess became queen of Hungary and Bohemia, and heiress to all the Austrian dominions, on the death of her father the em-

peror Charles VI. on Oct. 20, 1740: the grand duke, her husband, was elected emperor in 1745, and enjoyed that dignity until he died in 1765, when he was succeeded on the imperial throne by their eldest son the arch-duke Joseph Benedict Augustus, who was born March 13, 1741.

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majesty; and 13,000 in the garrisons bordering on the Turkish dominions, which never could be totally left unfurnished. As the troops destined for the services of the campaign were stipulated at 167,000 men; these, together with the 16,000 English, 16,000 Hanoverians, and 6,000 Hessians, with 40,000 of his Sardinian majesty's regular forces, besides 20,000 of his militia, would amount to 265,000 men in the service of the queen of Hungary in Germany, Flanders, and Italy.

Count Konigsegg Erps succeeded count Frederic Harrach, as governor general of the Austrian Netherlands, and arrived at Brussels, in March, when he published some edicts, which were highly agreeable to the people, and greatly increased their affection for the queen.

While France was endeavoring to extricate herself from the dangers that surrounded her in Germany, she was deprived of her ablest minister, the cardinal de Fleury, who died on the 18th of December, at his seat at Issy, in the 91st. year of his age, after a tedious indisposition, in which he retained his senses till the moment he expired *.

The French monarch †, immediately on the decease of the cardinal, declared he would take the government into his own hands, and applied himself diligently to the administration of his affairs for some time: but his natu-

* This minister had governed the king and kingdom absolutely for sixteen years; and, though so long possessed of ministerial power, his whole annual revenue, both public and private, did not amount to more than 91,000 livres; and, considering his rank, it is surprising to hear, that his whole personal estate did not exceed 80,000 livres.

† Louis XV. son of the duke of Burgundy, and of Mary Adelaide, daughter of Victor Amadeus, duke of Savoy. He was born Sept. 15, 1715, and was crowned at Rheims Oct. 25, 1722. He married, Sept. 5, 1725, the princess Mary Leozinski, daughter of Stanislaus the deposed king of Poland.

ral aversion to public business, soon induced him to select a new favorite to ease him from the burden of state. There were many candidates for the royal favor; of whom none were so highly caressed as M. de Orr, comptroller of the finances, who, by means of his post, and adulation to the king, had solidly established himself in his affections.

The court of France, expecting the allied army in Flanders would march into Germany, and act offensively, resolved to assemble a numerous army to oppose them, and secure the frontiers. The military force of the kingdom, was ordered to be augmented to 300,000 men; to which, 76 new troops of horse and dragoons were to be added to the several regiments of cavalry, and the rest of the augmentation was to be effected by adding five men to every troop; the whole cavalry, consisting of 75 regiments, being to be augmented to 40,000 men. The infantry, with the addition of seven new German battalions, was to be completed to 150,000 men; and the 30,000 militia were to be increased to 120,000. Of these troops, 70,000 were to assemble under the command of marshal Noailles, to oppose the march of the allied army from Flanders into Germany; and 20,000 were to reinforce marshal Broglie in Bavaria: but, in case of necessity on the side of the Low-Countries, the army under marshal Noailles, was to be augmented to 92,000 foot, and 23,000 horse, in all 115,000 men.

As the first step towards accomplishing these military preparations, the French monarch, on the 10th of February, made a grand promotion of 14 lieutenant generals, 30 marshals de camp, or major-generals, and 72 brigadiers.

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To raise the necessary funds, for the maintenance of such an additional number of troops, several extraordinary taxes were created; and six millions of livres proposed to be raised by way of tontine, or lottery.

While France was providing for her own security at home, she neglected no opportunity of establishing her interest abroad. Where glory and interest coincide, there is no nation in the world so scrupulously nice and tenacious as the French: but they can always relinquish any share in the glory of a great action for the sake of interest. With this view, the French ministry acquainted his Prussian majesty, that they were apprehensive of an offensive alliance formed against France between their Britannic and Hungarian majesties, whose intention was to penetrate into the empire, and continue a destructive war in the very heart of Germany. They also represented the pacific disposition of France, who was willing to recall her troops, and establish a peace on the *uti possidetis*; assuring his Prussian majesty that the French king consented to have no apparent hand in composing the differences of the empire.

The Prussian monarch was fired with the ostentation of prescribing terms of peace to the contending powers, and of supporting the dignity of the emperor. Accordingly his Prussian majesty caused a declaration to be made to his Britannic majesty and the States General, "That he could not suffer British troops, or any other in the pay of Great Britain, to enter the empire, and promote a continuance of the war. That as an elector, and prince of the empire, he was obliged to maintain the peace of Germany: therefore, he would take upon himself to oblige the troops of France to retire; and offered to labor, in conjunction with England and Holland, to procure

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procure a peace, upon equitable terms, between the emperor and the house of Austria." But his majesty also declared, " That, in case any new measures should be taken to disturb the repose of the empire, he would immediately send his contingent of 15,000 men to the service of the emperor; and that, if these should not be sufficient, he would follow them in person with 50,000 more."

Thus the maritime powers were complimented with the mediation, which was also desired by the emperor. The French monarch wanted to withdraw his troops from Germany, the reputed grave of his soldiers, where the new levies could be sent only with compulsion: but the ministry of Versailles here politically conferred on his Prussian majesty the honor of obliging them to repair the Rhine.

The Dutch at last owned the necessity of securing the confines of their country, by possessing with their own troops those places which the Austrians were obliged to forsake; and their deliberations were so far influenced by the incitements of the British ministry, and the vicinity of the army in Flanders, that, in February, the states of Holland and West Friezland came to a resolution of granting the queen of Hungary an effectual succor of 20,000 men; which was afterwards agreed to by the other provinces; and in May passed the assembly of the states general; notwithstanding all the remonstrances and opposition of the marquis de Fenelon. This corps consisted of 24 squadrons of horse, making 4,140 men; and 20 battalions of foot, making 15,910 men; in all, 20,050; commanded in chief by count Maurice of Nassau:

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lau: but, though they were so early destined for the service of the queen of Hungary, they were not in motion until the beginning of July *.

* Though the French, at some times, used every art of moderation, and all professions of cordiality, in their expostulations, for the republic; at other times, they endeavored to intimidate the states by a menacing air of their potency, and the ill effects attending their indignation. They reminded the states, that a third power, though it did not directly commit any hostility, declared itself however an enemy, by putting it in the power of one party to attack the other with greater strength; and by this means the republic, by sending its troops

into the Austrian Netherlands, would give an opportunity to the queen of Hungary, and at the same time to Great Britain, to employ all their forces in conquering the dominions of the house of Bavaria, and to make themselves masters of the imperial crown, in favor of the grand duke, by a war that must put all Germany in confusion; a fault that the republic would dearly pay for, by the loss of her liberty; by declaring itself, though indirectly, yet in a manner equally essential, an enemy to the emperor, the empire, and France.

CHAP. III.

The Campaigns in GERMANY in 1743. — The AUSTRIANS storm the BAVARIAN camp at LIMBACH, and expel the FRENCH from BAVARIA. — The motions of the CONFEDERATE ARMY commanded by marshal STAIR, and the FRENCH under marshal NOAILLES. His BRITANNIC Majesty and the DUKE of CUMBERLAND join the ALLIES at ASCHAFFENBERG. The Battle of DETTINGEN, wherein his ROYAL HIGHNESS the DUKE was wounded: His gallant Behavior there. The FRENCH are defeated, and retreat into ALSACE. The Letters of Congratulation to the DUKE of CUMBERLAND and Marshal STAIR, from Prince Charles of Lorrain, Marshal KHEVENHULLER, and Prince LOBKOWITZ, on account of that Victory. The Cartel concluded at FRANCFORT, between the ALLIES and the FRENCH, for the Exchange of Prisoners.

THE Austrian troops in Bavaria composed an army of 60,000 men; but the French and Bavarians united did not exceed 40,000; so that the Austrians, by their superiority, had the advantage of procuring the necessary sustenance both for men and horses; while more than 5,000 of the French and Bavarians were destroyed by diseases, resulting from bad diet and other inconveniencies.

Marshal Khevenhuller attended prince Charles of Lorrain to Vienna, and held several conferences relative to the operations of the campaign: but though the Austrian

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striar army was cantoned, in a line, from the Upper Palatinate to Passau, and from thence to Saltzburgh, nothing was undertaken; because marshal Broglie had posted his army in such a defensible situation, that the Austrians thought it improper to attack them, until they found what their auxiliaries were effecting in Flanders, from whence they expected to be joined by them in Germany.

As his Britannic majesty had promised the queen of Hungary to order his troops into Germany; in pursuance of that engagement, the British forces, about the middle of February 1743, marched out of their quarters in Flanders, and advanced towards the Rhine, with as much expedition as the season of the year would admit. On the 26th, the train of artillery arrived at Maestricht; while the dragoons and infantry went into cantonment about that city, Aix-la-chapelle, and the duchy of Juliers: but the horse-guards and horse took up their winter quarters at Brussels, where they remained until the end of April.

Philip Charles d'Eltz, archbishop and elector of Mentz, died on the 21st of March. As a voice in the electoral college, with the accession of a powerful prince*, would be of the greatest consequence to either of the parties then contending about the fate of Germany, marshal Stair thought proper to prosecute his march farther into the empire, that the free voice of the chapter might not be influenced by the French army, then assembling at Landau in Lower Alsace, under marshal Noailles: as also that he might effectually oppose the other designs of that general, and

* The archbishop is arch-chancellor of the empire, keeper of the archives, and director of the

general and particular assemblies. He has also a right to convoke the electoral college.

save the queen of Hungary from the ruin threatened her by the junction of his army with the troops under marshal Broglio.

With this view, marshal Stair appointed the general rendezvous of the whole allied army, to be at Hoechst * upon the Main, near Frankfort †: But the British marshal, finding the weather very bad, and the roads impassable, took up his quarters at Aix-la-chapelle ‡ during the cantonment, which continued longer than he expected, on account of the bad snowy weather.

The Austrians and Hanoverians were afterwards in motion; but the Hessians made objections against marching into the empire, and were sent to garrison the barrier-towns, instead of the Austrians.

On the 20th of April, the British army quitted their cantonments; when they again marched in divisions, passed through the territory of Juliers, and the electorate of Cologne. Lieutenant-general Ligonier, with the first division, consisting of all the grenadiers, crossed the Rhine, on a bridge of boats at Newidt ||, where he halted until joined by the rest of the army; from whence they continued their march along the banks of the Rhine, until the beginning of May; when they began to assemble near Hoechst, where proper ground was laid out for their encampment. The Austrians, under the command of the marshal Neuperg and the duke d'Arenberg, ar-

* A town seated in a plain, three miles from Francfort.

† A large, ancient, imperial, hanſatic city, in Franconia. In this city the golden bull is preserved, which is the magna charta of Germany: and here the emperor ought to be crowned.

‡ A free imperial city, in the duchy of Juliers, and circle of Westphalia.

|| A city subject to the count of the same name, about 18 miles above Bonn.

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rived about the same time, and encamped on the right, at a league distance from the British troops. The Hanoverians, under general Ilton, arrived towards the end of the month, and encamped on the left; marshal Stair taking up his quarters at Hoechst, which was about the center of the whole.

When marshal Stair approached the neighbourhood of Frankfort, he sent quarter-master general Bland to assure his imperial majesty, who then resided in that city, "That the British troops marched into the empire, with no other view but to procure the means of restoring peace to it: that his Britannic majesty, in appointing him commander of them, had strictly charged him to avoid every thing that might, in the least, strike at the dignity of the head of the empire: and therefore, that the emperor might be persuaded the march of those troops would be so ordered, that they should not disturb the residence of his imperial majesty at Frankfort."

At the same time, the marshal caused it to be notified, to the neighboring princes and adjacent towns, that he had no orders to act against the emperor; but only to compel the French to quit Germany. On this declaration, several states of the empire, who formerly pretended to oppose the march of the British forces into Germany, now proclaimed their approbation with great freedom; and confessed that the vicinity of the French obliged them to apparently disavow, what they really favored. The regency of Frankfort particularly expressed their intention of observing a strict neutrality: but the emperor retired to Munich*, for the security of his

* The capital of the electorate and duchy of Bavaria, seated on the river Isar, 15 miles S. E. of

Augsburg, 62 S. of Ratisbon, and 212 W. of Vienna.

person;

person; and did not return to Frankfort until he was compelled to it by the loss of his hereditary dominions.

The Banks of the Maine * were always remarkable for the assembling and encampment of armies during the wars of the empire; and a camp at Hoechst had been frequently chosen, as a strong place; the river winding so far about as to secure the right flank, and part of the rear.

The allied army, being encamped in one line, extended so far as to maintain a free communication with the city of Mentz † on the right, and Frankfort on the left: but the latter was chiefly resorted to by the army, for provision and necessaries. Marshal Stair gave strict and early orders against maroding; which were so well observed, as to occasion a general plenty in the camp. Those orders were highly requisite; for, during the march, the inhabitants of many villages concealed their provisions, some for fear of being plundered by the English, and others out of partiality to the French; or, if they exposed them to sale, they demanded a double price: but the Jews, who followed the army in great numbers, perceiving these inconveniences, soon found out a remedy; for, by their skill and industry in trade, with their knowledge of the country, they bought up abundance of provisions and necessaries of every kind; on which they were employed as principal agents to the army, with respect to all provisions.

* This river rises on the east side of the circle of Franconia, and runs from E. to W. through that circle; passes by the cities of Bamberg, Wurzburg, Aschaffenburg, Hanau, and Frankfort; after which, it falls into the Rhine at Mentz.

† The capital of that electorate, in the circle of the lower Rhine. It is seated on the confluence of the rivers Rhine and Maine, where is a bridge of boats: it is 20 miles N. W. of Worms, 20 S. W. of Frankfort, 75 E. of Triers, and 85 S. E. of Cologne.

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The French ministry expected these motions of the allied army, and made preparations to obstruct their junction with the Austrians in Bavaria. No sooner had the allies began their march towards the Rhine, but marshal Noailles entered the Palatinate at the head of 70,000 men, and also advanced towards the Rhine; where he seized Spire, Worms, Oppenheim, and all the places on that side the river above Mentz; as also the city of Heidelberg. At the same time, marshal Coigni, with an army of 60,000 men, was ordered to defend Alsace, and the neighboring provinces; as also to oppose prince Charles if he attempted to pass the Rhine on the side of Suabia. But the main body of the French, under marshal Noailles, continued on the west side of the Rhine; and the confederate army remained in their camp, until they found the success of the campaign in Bavaria, where the French could not reinforce marshal Broglio, until the beginning of May.

While the allied forces were advancing towards Germany, prince Charles of Lorraine left Vienna, on the 13th of April, and arrived on the 25th, at the Austrian army in Bavaria, which then lay between the Inn and the Iser, extending from Vilshoven, through Griefbatch, towards Branau. His highness opened the campaign by marching against the French and Bavarian army, with a view to bring them to a decisive battle. The Austrian army consisted of 54,000 men; but the French and Bavarians, if united, were no more than 50,000 at most. His highness, on the 28th, attacked the Bavarians in their camp, at Limbach, near Branau, where the emperor had assembled 20,000 men, including 6,000 Palatines; under the command of Count Minuzzi. The Austrians with

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great difficulty entered the camp, and the Bavarians fled to Branau, after the loss of 4,000 men killed and 2,000 taken prisoners; among the latter was general Minuzzi; so that the remains of the imperial army were assembled at Munich, under count Seckendorf, who had formerly commanded the Austrian army against the Turks.

Marshal Khevenhuller was present, and directed prince Charles to improve all advantages, and pursue the French, who had garrisons in several parts of Bavaria. General Daun was detached with a body of horse and Croats to attack 6,000 French, who were posted at Dingelsing, on the Iser: the Austrians destroyed about 700 of them; while the others retired to Landshut*, and Deckendorf. General Daun afterwards drove the French from Landshut, where they lost 1,000 men. Prince Charles also sent a strong detachment under general Brown, to attack 6,000 French, who were strongly posted at Deckendorf†, under the command of the prince of Conti‡. The French lost above 500 men; and, after setting fire to the town, retreated towards Marshal Broglie, who continued in the Upper Palatinate, and had his motions diligently watched by prince Lobkowitz. In the attack of Deckendorf, some of the Austrians seized the baggage belonging to the prince of Conti; which was generously restored to him, by the young prince of Lor-

* The capital of lower Bavaria, seated on the Iser, 36 miles N. E. of Munich. When the Austrians entered the town, they found only one house and the church standing, all the rest having been destroyed by the French, who plundered the inhabitants of their effects, and set fire to the town.

† A town on the Danube, 37 miles S. E. of Ratibon.

‡ Louis Francis de Bourbon, prince of Conti, one of the princes of the blood, born August 13, 1717, and afterwards remarkable for his campaign against the king of Sardinia in Italy.

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rain, who immediately detached general Baronai, with a body of Hussars, to pursue the French.

The whole country of Bavaria was now reduced to a very melancholy situation; for while the army under prince Charles was so successful on the banks of the Inn, Isar, and Danube, another body of 10,000 Austrians, commanded by the prince de Lichtenstein, entered the electorate by the passes of the Tyrolese, defeated the troops posted to guard them, and made incursions through the open country to the very gates of Munich, where count Seckendorf was encamped under the walls. Nothing could equal the distress of his imperial majesty, who was then in Munich, and saw the direful calamities in which his fatal attachment to France had involved his electorate. In vain this unfortunate monarch called upon marshal Broglio to join count Seckendorf, and venture a general battle for the preservation of his hereditary dominions: upon which, the emperor was again obliged to quit his capital, and fly for protection to Augsburg *. The Bavarian army was conducted by count Seckendorf towards the Danube; and prince Lobkowitz, after clearing the Upper Palatinate, joined the main body of the Austrians, who took possession of Munich.

Marshal Broglio marched to Ratisbon, where he was joined by count Saxe with 20,000 men. The marshal proceeded to Ingolstadt †, where he was joined, on the 12th of June, by the Bavarians under count Seckendorf, and found himself at the head of 50,000 men. Prince Charles ad-

* An imperial city in the circle of Suabia, on the borders of Bavaria, 33 miles N. W. from Munich, and 200 W. of Vienna.

† The strongest town in Bavaria, seated on the Danube, 35 miles S. of Ratisbon, and 45 miles N. W. of Munich.

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vanced to attack the French marshal, and a general battle was expected: but the latter retired to Donawert*, where he was joined by count Segur, with a detachment of 12,000 men from the army commanded by marshal Noailles on the Rhine. When marshal Broglio received this reinforcement, his army consisted of above 60,000 men, and was no way inferior to the forces under prince Charles of Lorrain: but the marshal could not be drawn to hazard the fate of a battle, as he had express orders to march directly towards the Rhine. Accordingly he continued his retreat towards Hailbronn†, and was closely followed by the Austrian hussars; while the emperor left Augsbourg, and returned to Franckfort.

Count Seckendorf was still at the head of the poor remains of the Bavarian army, and informed prince Charles, that he had received commands not to act offensively against her Hungarian majesty; but to put his troops into winter quarters in Suabia and Franconia. The marshal likewise intimated to his highness, that his imperial majesty was willing to accept a neutrality: the emperor indeed, when he first perceived the inactivity of the French in rescuing his electoral dominions, was determined to solicit for a treaty of neutrality; which he was inclined to accept on any reasonable conditions, and for which he had acquired the mediation of his Britannic majesty.

While the Austrian arms were so successful in Bavaria, and marshal Broglio was effecting his retreat towards the Rhine; the allied army, under marshal Stair, continued in their camp at Hoechst on the Maine: and the

* 25 miles W. of Ingoldstadt.

† An imperial town in the duchy of Wirtemberg, situated on

the Neckar, 25 miles S. E. of Heidelberg, and 70 N. E. of Strasbourg.

French army, commanded by marshal Noailles, remained in the Palatinate on the banks of the Rhine. The confederate army consisted of about 38,000 men; and the French army was composed of about 38,000*: but, notwithstanding this superiority of the French, marshal Stair was not averse to an engagement, which encouraged him to venture higher up the Maine, towards Aschaffenberg†; where the French marshal followed him on the opposite side of the river.

* The army of the allies was generally computed to be 16,000 English; 16,000 Hanoverians; and 12,000 Austrians; in all 44,000 men: but, after deducting the dead, sick, and disabled, the whole number of effective men scarcely exceeded 37,000: whereas the French army, at the first, consisted of 70,000 men; and, after the detachment sent under count Segur to favor the retreat of marshal Broglie, they amounted to 58,000 men. — The French crossed the Rhine, May 14, at a village called Rhine Turkheim, about two leagues below Worms; and marched towards the Maine, with a view to seize a rising ground, on the west side the river, that commanded Hoechst, and the army encamped in it's neighborhood; but this design had no other effect, than the loss of their men; for many deserters came in daily to the confederates. — The French army were encamped and entrenched in the woods near Geraw, in the landgraviate of Hesse Darmstadt, about five leagues on the west side of the Maine from Hoechst. — Marshal Stair frequently summoned the general officers to councils of war, and was desirous of nothing

more than to encounter the French. To this purpose, it was resolved, May 29, to pass the Maine, and march towards the French. This march began about midnight, when the allied army passed the river, and marched up the hills of Killersbach, where they were drawn up in line of battle, in full view of the French, who continued quiet in their camp; upon which the allies returned to their camp, without the least interruption. — Marshal Stair was opposed by all the German generals; because some of them thought it too great a risque to venture so small an army to that of the French, which report had magnified to 100,000 men; and others were desirous of deferring any probability of an action until the arrival of his Britannic majesty. — In fact, the duke d'Arenberg, who commanded the 12,000 Austrians, refused to join his troops to the British forces, when they were drawn up in order of battle at Killersbach.

† A town on the river Maine, in the circle of the lower Rhine, and electorate of Mentz; 20 miles E. of Franckfort, and 40 E. of Mentz.

It was generally apprehended, that marshal Noailles had an intention to march higher up the river, and secure the forage of the country. As the allied army was also in want of forage, a council of war was held on the 3d of June, in which the point was debated, and it was resolved, to march higher up the river, to secure the navigation of the Upper Maine, and draw supplies of forage and provision from Franconia: because such a motion would prevent the like design of marshal Noailles, or any other which might be formed in favor of marshal Broglio. Though some of the principal persons who composed the council of war were of a different opinion, the march was resolved on, and immediately put into execution. Accordingly, on the 4th, a large detachment, composed of several corps, marched under the command of lieutenant-general Clayton: and the next day the main body of the army marched in two columns, for the advantage of the weather, which was very warm, and the sake of expedition.

The British marshal lengthened his marches until the 7th of June, when he gained his point, in securing the bridge at Aschaffenberg, where he posted a strong guard: But his intention was frustrated; for, by means of the curved course of the river, the confederate army being obliged to take the bow, and the French only the string, their march was so quick upon the allies, that they gained the wood, near the bridge of Aschaffenberg, the same day; and encamped in it, undiscovered by the allies, who were obliged to halt for want of forage and provisions, which they expected from Francfort*.

* If this had not been the case, farther up the river, for the allies it would have been very practicable to have secured the country had from Aschaffenberg only the string; but the French had a bow

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Marshal Noailles, who equally knew the importance of possessing the river, made an early use of this misfortune of the allies, and with the utmost diligence sent forward a strong detachment, which marched up to Miltenberg*, and so to Wertheim†. By these motions, the French secured a large tract of country, abounding with forage and all sorts of provision, of which the allies were in the greatest necessity.

Marshal Stair, however, maintained the bridge, which he passed, on the 8th, with 300 horse, to reconnoitre the French, who obliged him to retire with some personal danger‡.

The next day his Britannic majesty, with the DUKE of CUMBERLAND, and lord Carteret, arrived at Hannau|| in three days from Hanover, escorted by a party of 300 horse. After a short refreshment, they proceeded to Aschaffenberg, where his majesty was received with the most joyful acclamations by the army, which he reviewed the same afternoon, and in the evening took up his quarters at the palace of Aschaffenberg, belonging to the late elector of Mentz.

The two armies were encamped on the plains near the banks of the Maine, opposite to, and in sight of each

of an extensive circumference to complete, before they could attempt it.

* A town of Franconia, on the south side of the Maine, 18 miles from Aschaffenberg.

† A town in Franconia, seated at the confluence of the rivers Tauber and Maine, 20 miles W. of Wurzburg.

‡ As soon as the marshal came near the wood, where the French lay encamped, a party of hussars fired upon his lordship from an ambuscade: they shot a ball

through the brim of his hat, wounded his aid de camp, and killed three of the escort. At this time, a peasant came and informed the marshal, that the French army lay in the wood just before him: this news obliged his lordship to retire; and it was with some difficulty that he escaped.

|| The capital of a county of that name, situate on the north side of the Maine, 13 miles E. of Franckfort, and 12 N. W. of Aschaffenberg.

other;

other; with a ridge of hills, covered with woods, on the north of each: the allies being on the north, and the French on the south side of the river. The town of Aschaffenberg is four miles east of the village of Dettingen: the Maine, in this part of the country, is about 60 yards over; and the country, along the river, as far as Dettingen, pretty low and level for near a league up, when it begins to be woody and mountainous. A mile below Aschaffenberg, the little river Aschaff, descending from the hills, falls into the Maine; as does another rivulet, called the Beck, just above Dettingen. Between the Aschaff and Beck, lies the village of Klein Ostein, watered by a small brook; and exactly opposite to this village, on the south side of the Maine, lies Stockstadt. Facing Dettingen, on the other side of the river, is the village of Mainfling; and lower down is Selingenstadt, belonging to the electorate of Triers. The south banks of the Maine, in all this space, were considerably higher than the opposite side; where, towards Dettingen, even the lower part of the ground was full of wood and morafs, to within a mile and half of the river.

The allied army occupied the north side of the Maine, and extended their encampment from Aschaffenberg to Klein Ostein; about two miles in length, inclining towards the mountains, at the distance of two muskets' shot from the river. The right wing, composed of the Austrians, was posted at Klein Ostein: the centre, being the Hanoverians, lay encamped in two lines, between the Austrians and the river Aschaff; and the left wing, consisting of the British troops, possessed the city and neighborhood of Aschaffenberg.

The French army extended on the south side of the Maine, from near the bridge of Aschaffenberg, down the river to Selingenstadt; and their center was at Mainfling, opposite Dettingen: but as marshal Noailles perceived the allies were in a dangerous situation, he secured some posts on the north side of the lower Maine, as also others on the upper Maine; whereby the allies were cut off from any communication with the Austrian troops in Bavaria, and deprived of subsistence from Franconia.

This position of the French rendered the situation of the allies extremely dangerous; because the troops, on their arrival from a long and laborious march, finding no provisions, plundered the country for subsistence. What they began through necessity, they continued through wantonness, ruining the adjacent villages, and terrifying the distant, until the arrival of his Britannic majesty, when a proclamation was read, at the head of each respective regiment, prohibiting the troops from marauding, under pain of death. Though all acts of hostility were committed on both sides, during a few days; yet the watering at the river being equally convenient to each army, as well as a free passage for the boats with the sick, an order was published, in both camps, against any firing across the river: so that the two armies lay unmolested for some time.

As the States General had now concurred in assisting her Hungarian majesty, the 6,000 Hessians who had garrisoned the Austrian towns *, were relieved by 6,000 Dutch: and as marshal Stair had declared, that his march into Germany should not endanger the person of the emperor, the Hessians were willing to join the allies.

* Mons, Aeth, Charleroi, and St. Guisfani.

They

They were ordered to proceed to Hanau for that purpose; as were also 6,000 Hanoverians, which his Britannic majesty furnished in his electoral capacity: and these troops were now upon their route to reinforce the allies, which on their arrival would be little inferior to the French.

Marshal Noailles, by encamping lower down the river, and occupying the post at Selingenstadt, had the opportunity of intercepting the retreat of the allies towards Franckfort; and, by taking possession of Miltenberg, Wertheim, and other places up the Main, obstructed their passage into Franconia. Besides, by the natural advantage of the ground, the French overlooked the confederate camp, and commanded it by their batteries.

While the allies were in this disadvantageous situation, short of provisions, unable to procure forage, and almost surrounded by the French; couriers arrived from prince Charles of Lorrain with intelligence of his successes in Bavaria. At the same time, advice was brought, that the 6,000 Hanoverians and 6,000 Hessians had effected a junction, and were within two days march of Hanau, under the command of prince George * of Hesse Cassel and general Druchleben, who wanted to know by what means they could join the allies. As the French commanded the lower part of the river, it was apprehended, if the prince of Hesse attempted to advance beyond Hanau, he must be intercepted: but as it was absolutely necessary to accomplish the junction between him and the main body of the confederates, his Britannic majesty

* He was born Jan. 8, 1691.

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formed the resolution of marching the army back again to Hanau, to join the Hessian prince; to whom he sent orders to halt at that city, which belonged to his father, the brother of the king of Sweden *.

Marshal Noailles was well apprized of the condition of the allied army, and the immediate necessity there was of their returning to Hanau to join the prince of Hesse: therefore, as this was a point of the utmost importance, the French marshal was determined to prevent it if possible. Accordingly, on the 13th of June, at night, a great part of the French army struck their tents, and were observed the next morning to be encamped farther up the woods; which was at first apprehended by the allies to be only a feint of marching: but the design appeared afterwards to be for the sake of enlarging the space between their camp and the river, that the troops, at the time intended, might march out of their camp towards Dettingen and Aschaffenberg with greater ease and security. The same evening, they set fire to great quantities of wood and straw; which still increased the opinion, then prevailing among the allies, of their having some design of a march: but, notwithstanding the smoke, the French were discovered at work in making trenches; which contradicted

* This monarch was Frederic, the eldest son of Charles, landgrave of Hesse Cassel, by Mary Amelia, sister of Casimir, duke of Courland. He was born in 1676, and in 1699 married Louisa daughter of Frederic I. king of Prussia; who dying without issue, in 1705, he married the princess Eleonora, youngest daughter of Charles XI. king of Sweden, who was elected queen of Sweden on the death of her brother Charles XII. in 1718. She

resigned the crown in favor of her consort in 1720, and the next year he was crowned king of Sweden. He succeeded his father in the landgraviate of Hesse Cassel in 1730; and his consort queen Eleonora died without issue in 1741. The same year, his nephew prince Frederic, married the princess Mary, fourth daughter of his Britannic majesty; and by her had a prince born June 3, 1743.

the former opinion, and became new matter of conjecture.

At the same time, and for some days preceding, parties of French hussars were sent out, who forded the river near Dettingen, lurked in the woods, and annoyed the foragers; besides they frequently intercepted the boats from Hanau with bread: so that the horses of the allies subsisted a fortnight on green corn, of which they destroyed above 12,000 acres; and the men had nothing but ammunition bread, with water, or sour wine, for a considerable time. But the French, under the cover of these motions, effected a more material piece of service, by laying two bridges over the Maine at Selingenstadt, a little below Dettingen, which was perceived by colonel Montagu, who immediately informed his Britannic majesty of it, and that many of the French squadrons had been perceived about Dettingen. About the same time, his majesty had also intelligence that the French intended to pass the river at Aschaffenberg: so that an attack was not unexpected; nor was any thing more wished for by his majesty and the DUKE OF CUMBERLAND, who waited only until the French should appear the aggressors, to take such measures as their natural courage prompted, and the whole army desired.

His Britannic majesty, on the 15th, upon several motions which the French army made to the left, issued orders for the tents to be struck at gun-fire, and the troops to remain under arms until break of day, when they were to march from the right in two columns; the troops taking the places assigned them in the line of battle, and the baggage to follow in the rear of the train of artillery. But as his majesty was persuaded, that if the French attempted

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attempted any thing, it would be on his rear-guard, he ordered the three battalions of English guards, and four of Lunenberg, that covered the head-quarters, as also twenty-six squadrons of Hanover cavalry, under lieutenant general Ilton, with some artillery, to bring up the rear; and his majesty chose to be there in person, as it was expected to be the place of action.

Marshal Noailles suspected that the confederates would begin their march in the night: therefore his intention was, to send thirty thousand of his best troops, under the command of his nephew, the duke of Grammont, to cross the Maine, at Selingenstadt, and prevent the junction of his Britannic majesty with the prince of Hesse. At the same time, he also intended to march twelve thousand men, among which was an Irish brigade, towards Aschaffenberg, that they might take possession of the bridge, as soon as the confederate guard quitted it; by which means, the retreat of the allies would be cut off on that side. The French marshal issued orders for this purpose, and the necessary dispositions were vigilantly made; to which the marshal was the more inclined, as he had been pressed by marshal Broglio and the French ministry to strike some important blow. Besides the undoubted assurance that the Hanoverians and Hessians were at Hanau; the marshal had also intelligence that sixteen thousand Austrians were on their march from Bavaria, under the command of count Nadasti and general Berenclau.

The French appeared to be without any particular design that evening, and all was quiet in their camp: but their desire of being thought so was afterwards over-acted; for when night approached, their whole camp was illuminated, in so sudden and unusual a manner,

as very justly to cause suspicions among the allies, for some intended stratagem.

The French began their march very early in the morning, on thursday the 16th of June, towards the bridges of Se-lingenstadt: but, the better to conceal it, they marched at a distance from the Maine, under cover of the woods, and with great silence. However, it could not be any longer concealed when they approached the river; for the night was not very dark, and they were soon discovered by lieutenant colonel Gee, who commanded a detachment of foot, posted beyond Dettingen, and was soon informed that a great number of French were actually posted below*; upon which he retired with his party. When day-light appeared, the confederates beheld the opposite banks of the Maine covered with French troops; some filing down by the side of the river towards Dettingen, and others marching briskly towards Aschaffenberg.

About four o'clock, the confederate army began their march towards Dettingen, in two columns. The British cavalry were in front, followed by the Austrian: then the British infantry, succeeded also by the Austrians, in the centre: while the English and Lunenberg guards, with the Hanoverian horse, made a counter-march, which prevented the French from attacking the rear, though they took possession of Aschaffenberg. About five, his Britannic majesty reviewed the rear-guard; while marshal Noailles passed the Maine, and joined the troops at Klein, where he gave his orders to the duke de Grammont, and

* "The French had passed over a great body of troops during the night: their horse, the house-
field at their head, passed the fords, or swam over, and the foot passed over the bridges." London Gazette, July 16.

repassed

repassed the river, that he might the better observe the disposition of both armies, and the direction of his cannon, from which he expected a terrible execution; as he had erected five batteries of artillery, at some distance from each other, on the opposite banks of the Maine; which could easily change their ground as occasion required, or be relieved by others from the main body of their artillery, then posted in the wood, at a little distance from the river.

The French left their camp standing, and the rest of their army approached the Maine; which convinced the allies, that marshal Noailles was putting his scheme into execution. About seven, the British cavalry passed a narrow bridge at Klein Ostein; but being too far advanced from the infantry, they received orders to halt there; and were drawn up fronting the river, that the foot might have time to come up, and room to pass by them. During the halt, the French infantry continued their march on the opposite banks of the river; so near, that the officers in both armies conversed over the water; and, as they passed, paid and received the most complaisant marks of gentility.

About eight, a battery of cannon, which the French had placed at a little chapel on the right of Stockstadt, began to play upon the Hanoverian cavalry, to draw an attention on that side; and was soon answered by the British artillery left in the rear, which did great execution. At nine, the rear of the French army had passed their first battery next Aschaffenberg, when they began to fire from thence; and as this battery was opposite the allied baggage, the persons about it were put into such confusion, that they turned into the woods, where some of the carts were plundered by the peasants. The fire from
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the first battery of the French was soon followed by the others: but the British train was too far in the rear to answer them as expeditiously as might have been wished. However, by the diligence of colonel Pattison, three batteries were soon erected, and so successfully played, that three of the French batteries were disabled in a short time.

When this hostility began, his Britannic majesty was towards the rear of the column of march, where the French ungenerously pointed all the cannon they could, as they knew him to be in that quarter: but his majesty, finding no capital attack on the rear, moved to the front, riding between the river and the troops, who were greatly animated by his presence, and saluted him with the loudest acclamations of joy.

When his majesty came up to the front of the allies, they began to perceive a line of French infantry, and then a second, extending between Dettingen and Welshheim towards the mountains; as also two columns of horse marching the same way*: so that the front of the confederates, upon the halt, being to the river, the French troops were upon their right flank, at less than the distance of a mile.

The danger was visible and pressing: his Britannic majesty signified his commands to marshal Stair; and his lordship gave orders for the army to be formed with all

* The duke de Grammont, actuated by the young princes of the blood, who were confident of success, was so impatient to engage, that instead of being drawn up on the other side of the defile, with the village of Dettingen on their right, the wood on their left, and

a morass in the centre, they left these advantages; and having passed the defile, that was formed by a dry trench, over which there was but one small bridge, came up to the attack in order of battle, on an accessible ground, where their whole front was exposed.

possible expedition. The allied infantry had passed the cavalry, and were formed into two such lines as the nature of the ground would admit: but, while they were forming the lines, some detachments were ordered to take possession of the woods; which marshal Neuperg thought insufficient to secure them, and advised to march with the body of the army, apprehending they would be beat in detail. This advice appeared so highly reasonable, that it was immediately put into execution.

The earl of Stair, marshal Neuperg, and the duke d'Arenberg, assisted with the utmost capacity, and the greatest activity, in forming the army, under the directions of his Britannic majesty, who shewed all the abilities of an experienced general, and exerted all that martial vivacity for which he was so much distinguished at the battle of Oudenarde *.

Two lines of cavalry were immediately formed; and, with the infantry on the right, as fast as they advanced, were posted in the wood, with some battalions to guard their camp, and secure the baggage. The left wing towards the Maine was composed of British and Austrian foot, with four Hanoverian battalions; supported by two lines of horse. But the ground was so narrow, between the river and the mountains, as not to admit of more than twenty three battalions at most in front, with some squadrons; so that the third line of foot was

* A town of the Austrian Netherlands, on the Scheld, 13 miles S. of Ghent. The French besieged it; but the duke of Marlborough obliged them to raise the siege, and gave them a memorable defeat on the 11th of July 1708. His Britannic majesty king George II. was then hereditary prince of

Brunswic Lunenburgh, and in the 23th year of his age: he was present at this battle; and charged sword in hand, in the most dangerous part of it, at the head of a squadron of dragoons, who routed their antagonists, and came off with distinguished proofs of their bravery.

supported

supported by two or three lines of horse. On the right of the army, at the entrance of the wood, the Hanoverians erected a battery: another was erected by the English, at the left: and a third by the Austrians, in the centre.

The French army was ranged, in order of battle, in a plain behind the wood, where the right wing of the confederates was formed: their right wing was covered by the Maine, and supported by a battery, erected near Mainfling, on the opposite side of the river: the household troops made the centre, supported by the infantry: and the left wing extended towards the hills. Their whole force was drawn up in two lines, and an *arrière* guard, where the artillery was placed *.

The cannonading across the river continued above three hours, with terrible execution on both sides †.

* "Nothing could be better than this plan of *maréchal* Noailles, if he had left the morass that he passed, in his front; for then the village of Dettingen and the Maine had secured his right, the morass his front, and the mountains his left; but probably his persuasion of our surprize, and that the king could not in so little a time make a disposition to oppose him, made him come into ground, where he was accessible by all his front." *London Gazette*, July 16.

Voltaire says, that "*maréchal* Noailles had laid an excellent plan to ruin the allies; but this was disconcerted by one single moment of impatience in the duke of Grammont, who was very advantageously posted, with thirty squadrons, and five brigades of infantry, to oppose the march of the allies."

† The destruction made among the troops was very great; yet the ground on the confederate side, being a light sand, and the bank rising towards the river, the loss on their part was much inferior to what *maréchal* Noailles expected; who, finding the British troops fixed the shock of his cannon without the least discomposing, or any other disorder than the slaughter necessarily occasioned, imagined his guns were not in due direction, or that there was some treachery in the engineers; chusing rather to ascribe it to any other cause than the true one, which was, the invincible courage of Britons, led on by their king, and animated by the presence of their young hero, the DUKE OF CUMBERLAND.

During the whole disposition, from eight to twelve, the French batteries, posted on the rising

About

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About noon, every thing being ready, and the French imprudently advancing, his Britannic majesty ordered the confederate army to march up and meet them. The lieutenant-generals Clayton and Sommerfeldt, and his Royal Highness the DUKE of CUMBERLAND, who acted as major-general, were at the head of the first line of foot: the earl of Dunmore lieutenant-general, and the earl of Rothes major-general, were at the head of the second line. The first line of horse was led on by general Honeywood; the lieutenant-generals Campbell, Ligonier, and Baron de Couriere; and the earl of Albemarle as major-general: the second line of horse was headed by the lieutenant-generals Cope and Hawley. The British life-guards were on the left; but his majesty posted himself at the head of the British and Hanoverian infantry on the right*.

Lieutenant-general Clayton, who commanded the British infantry, was upon the left of the front line, next to the river; and there being only Bland's regiment of dragoons near him, with a space between them and the river of

grounds on the other side of the Maine, did the allies a great deal of harm, flanking them from left to right within two hundred paces: and the confederate artillery at last answered very briskly, though much inferior in quality of metal and number of guns.

* "The king having given his orders to the respective generals of the army, with the greatest calmness and resolution, placed himself on the right wing; at the head of the British infantry, on foot, sword in hand." Lord Carteret's account.

His majesty rode down the line, flourished his sword, and addressed the British infantry thus: "Now, my brave boys! now, for the honor of England! advance boldly,

fire, and the French will soon run." This laconic address, animated the troops more than the long oration of a Caesar. The king continued in front for a considerable time: but the duke d'Arenberg, and some other generals, rode up, and desired his majesty to remove out of the danger to which he was so much exposed. The king then posted himself on the right wing; where he no sooner arrived, than his horse startled at the disposition of the guns, and proved so untractable, that his majesty alighted, and continued on foot, during the engagement: by which, and his heroic conduct, the troops were fired with emulation to deserve his applause.

two hundred and fifty paces, he sent an aid de camp for horse to make good the vacancy, being so much out-flanked by the French line: the horse were instantly sent, and the deficiency made up, by general Honeywood.

The confederate lines halted half way to the French, to give the soldiers time to breathe; upon which they gave a general huzza, and marched on to the battle with great alacrity. A large body of French horse happened to be at the head of their line of foot, and kept that post while the allies were advancing; which provoked part of the front to fire upon them, and this occasioned all the lines to fire too soon: however, it was attended with no bad consequence: they instantly loaded again, and advanced to the French, who also moved forwards. The French household troops on their right, advanced upon the left of the confederates; and part of the French infantry, in the front line, began a disordered and irregular fire: upon which the fire, in a moment, became general upon the front of both armies; the confederate line still advancing and gaining ground.

The French began to give way as the allies advanced; the bold huzza from the English struck such a panic in the French, that some of them retreated behind the horse, who continued to advance on the confederates, whose cavalry were wanted on the left. General Clayton perceived the French squadrons intended to attack him in flank: he therefore gave orders to the British brigade of infantry which was nearest the river, and to Bland's dragoons, to advance and meet them; which they ac-

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cordingly

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cordingly did, and sustained the attack with such firmness and resolution as to stop the progress of the French *.

About this time, the black musketeers desperately detached themselves from their line, passed between the two fires of the infantry, and came full gallop to attack Hawley's dragoons, the first confederate squadrons on the right: but they met with a reception, due to such temerity †. They were all cut to pieces, and their standard taken.

Marshal Stair perceived the superiority of the French cavalry on the left, and immediately ordered the king's and Ligonier's regiments of horse to sustain and make good the left wing of the confederates. Ligonier's regiment gallantly charged the French household-troops, and were as bravely received: but the French, being armed with breast-plates and helmets of proof against pistol-shot, and by the superiority of numbers, obliged this brave Irish regiment ‡ to retreat. The king's regiment was also repulsed; though both the officers and men of these two regiments behaved with the greatest spirit and bravery.

His Britannic majesty sent aid de camps frequently to the left, to observe what was transacting there, and to be informed of the welfare of his Royal Highness the

* The dragoons had been all cut to pieces, if a battalion of Austrians had not come up to their relief; who, posting themselves between the dragoons and the river, made several smart fires upon the French, with such success as to bring off the dragoons, though not before they had sustained considerable loss.

† This was immediately predicted by the experienced marshal

Neuperg, who cried out, "Now the English horse will attack, the infantry take them in flank, and their business is done." The musketeers were incited to this rash attempt by a reward marshal Noailles had offered for taking his Britannic majesty prisoner.

‡ It was composed chiefly of gentlemen's sons, who made a noble appearance.

DUKE of CUMBERLAND, who behaved with amazing spirit and fortitude. But as the confederate generals found their cavalry was still borne down by the French, they ordered up three British regiments of horse *, and two regiments of Austrian dragoons. Those five regiments passed through the intervals of foot, and attacked the French. General Honeywood put himself at the head of the British regiment of horse-guards, who advanced on a full gallop to charge the gens-d'armes; but their impetuosity threw them into disorder, and they were repulsed. This encouraged the gens-d'armes to rush upon the British infantry, who let them in, flanked them, gave them their whole fire, and destroyed them all †. The other four regiments of the confederate cavalry attacked the French with great resolution, but were twice repulsed: however, they rallied again, and returned a third time to the charge, when they repulsed the French, whose whole line of cavalry gave way, and were interlined by the foot ‡.

* The regiments of horse guards blue, Rich's and Cope's.

† The breast-plates of the men protected a great many from pistol shot; but this was soon discovered; and the British infantry, after killing the French horses with their bayonets, beat out the brains of their riders with the butt end of their muskets.

‡ The earl of Crauford commanded the brigade of life guards, and greatly distinguished himself by his prudence and bravery. As his lordship was moving his brigade through the field, observing what passed in the time of action, he discovered a French battery, which had not been played all the day, planted in a place where no enemy was suspected, and pointed

directly upon his majesty. However, his lordship continued moving forward in the same direction, until he made a tour as if he intended to attack a small body of horse posted near that battery. The enemy observed this manœuvre, and reinforced that corps with a large body of cavalry. Then they advanced to attack his lordship, who continued to move forwards by several counter marches and wheelings, as if he intended to attack them in flank. By this means, he drew that body of French between himself and their battery; when he retired to his majesty, to receive his farther instructions. Soon after, an aid de camp came to the earl of Crauford, with orders to charge the French

The first line of the confederate infantry, being all of that corps which engaged, was drawn up in the following order. On the right of all, one brigade of Austrians: on the right of the English brigade, Pulteney's; Onslow's, Sowles, Duroure's, the Welch-fuzileers, the Scotch-fuzileers, and Johnson's, on the left of all. These troops had already broken the two first lines of the French infantry, and still remained in a proper disposition. After the repulse of the French cavalry, marshal Stair came up to the head of the British brigade, and commended the behaviour of the whole line of foot; saying, he would be present to see them make the attack on the third line of the French, who were then in beautiful order to oppose them. Upon which, they saluted him with three huzzas, advanced with the cavalry, were so well conducted, and behaved with such intrepidity, that they pressed irresistibly on the French, compelled them to retreat, and put them in the greatest confusion. The Hanoverian artillery completed the work; for two of those pieces, loaded with grape-shot, being at that juncture brought down from the wood, fired upon the French, flanked them severely, and greatly increased their disorder as they retreated *.

infantry, who were then within forty paces in front of his brigade. His lordship led the brigade on, with this caution: "Hark, my dear lads; trust to your swords; handle them well; and never mind your pistols." They punctually obeyed his injunction, and drove the French before them with great slaughter. On their beginning to give way, the trumpeter of his lordship's troop, the fourth of horse guards, sounded, "Britons strike home," upon which his

lordship turned about and thanked him. Trifling as such remarks may seem, they are proper to be introduced in so capital an engagement, where the DUKE of CUMBERLAND drew his maiden sword; or, to please the critics, made his first military appearance, as a general officer.

* A brigade, or detachment, of grenadiers posted in their front, behind a curtain, opposite to our right wing of horse, having given way, all their front began to do

Marshal

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Marshal Noailles continued at Stockstadt, until he understood that his nephew had passed the defile; on which he passionately said, "Grammont has ruined all my schemes;" and when he found the fatal event, he passed over the Maine, to conduct the retreat of his troops, who had quitted the field, repassed the rivulet, and were posted in order of battle, upon an eminence commanding the plain.

Marshal Stair ordered his lieutenant-generals, Campbell and Ligonier to pass the morass, and march with the horse to Dettingen, which they found abandoned. They then advanced to Welsheim, where some squadrons still appeared on the Skirts of the wood, into which they retired, and retreated in great disorder to Selingenstadt, where they repassed the Maine, with such precipitation and confusion, that many perished in the river, which they had so lately crossed, in all the hope and confidence of victory.

The French gave way soon after two o'clock; and marshal Stair, not thinking it prudent to venture the horse into the wood, until the foot could come up, ordered the former to halt. Whether the French should be pursued or not, over the Maine, became a matter of debate among the confederate generals. Marshal Stair was for the pursuit, and observed, that the French were in too much terror and confusion to make any resistance at the passage: but those who were of a contrary opinion, argued the danger of the woods, where great bodies of

the same, till they put the morass before them, and then their whole army retired with great precipita-

tion towards the village and wood of Welsheim." London Gazette, July 16.

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the French might have been posted in ambuscade*, However, that the pursuit was neglected, seems to have been no ways imprudent, as the French had sixteen thousand fresh troops about their camp, and twelve thousand at Aschaffenberg, who could have been easily assembled to attack the confederates, and give their own disordered troops time to rally; when the allies must have renewed the battle, under many disadvantages.

Thus ended this memorable engagement; in which the French lost about six thousand men, either killed, wounded, or taken prisoners; and among them most of their generals and officers of distinction. The confederates lost about two thousand five hundred men, killed, wounded, and taken †.

* The earl of Craufurd, who was of the same opinion with marshal Stair, followed the French in their retreat, and got upon the eminence, where he found all clear. He then waved his hat to the confederates, to let them know they might safely follow the pursuit.

† Voltaire says, "The loss was pretty equal in both armies; and that the allies lost 2231 men; which was the calculation given by the English, who seldom diminish their own loss, or exaggerate that of their enemy;" but it is certain the loss of the French was more than double that of the allies. By lord Carteret's account from Hanau, June 20, we were told, that "By the great number of killed found on all sides, the French loss must be about 4,000 men killed, wounded, drowned, and taken prisoners. On our side our loss is computed to be near 1,500 killed and wounded." But by a subsequent Gazette, of July 16, we were informed, "It is reckoned the ene-

my have lost above 8,000 men, and and our loss amounts to 2,500." However, the Paris alaman, of June 30, modestly asserted, that "The allies left 5,000 dead on the field of battle, of which the French remained masters, who had 3,000 killed and 900 wounded."

The following short account of the battle was sent by lord Carteret to the duke of Newcastle:

"Dettingen, June 16-27, 1743.

My Lord,

HIS majesty, God be praised, has this-day gained a very considerable battle. The French passed the Maine at this place, with about 25,000 men, and have been forced to repass it with considerable loss. I write this from the village near the field of battle, which the French were in possession of; by which means we have secured our conjunction with the Hessians and Hanoverians, in

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The principal officers killed among the allies, were lieutenant-general Clayton, who was shot by a random ball, as the French were retreating *; and major-general Monroy † of the Hanoverians.

Among the wounded were his Royal Highness the DUKE of CUMBERLAND, who behaved very gallantly, had a fine Turkish horse shot under him, and received a shot in the leg ‡: the duke d'Arenberg, brigadier-general Huske §, colonel Peers †, and colonel

number about 12,000, which are within two leagues of us, and to intercept whom, the French made this hazardous attempt, which has failed them. His majesty was all the time in the heat of the fire; but is in perfect health. The DUKE received a shot in the leg, which pierced the calf; but the bone is not hurt: he is very well, and in high spirits. I must refer the particulars of this great affair till to-morrow or next day. General Clayton is killed; and we have taken several general officers prisoners, and many officers of the French king's household in their fine cloaths. The army lies all night under arms. I am in a cottage with marshal Neuperg. The Austrians behaved themselves with great gallantry. The duke d'Arenberg is wounded with a musket shot in the breast. This is a good beginning of the campaign, the emperor's auxiliaries having received a very considerable check, and they were the aggressors.

I am, &c.

CARTERET.

P.S. The Hanoverian artillery has had a considerable share in this victory. The battle began

at ten in the morning, and lasted to four, when the enemy repassed the Maine with precipitation."

His lordship must have wrote this letter in a great hurry of business; but those to whom it was sent honored him with a full publication of it.

* His body was found stripped. He was gover or of Gibraltar: his loss was equally regretted by the king, the officers, and soldiers. Major Campbell, who was his aide-camp, was also killed.

† This general and his son had each a leg shot off by the same cannon ball.

‡ "His Royal Highness the DUKE, commanding with great bravery at his post of major-general, received a musket ball, which went through his leg: and the duke d'Arenberg received one in his breast; but neither of these wounds was thought dangerous." Lord Carteret's Letter, June 2.

§ "He was shot in the heel; but though the bone was broken, the wound was not thought dangerous." Ibid.

† He was colonel of the regiment of Welsh Fuzileers, and received a dangerous shot in the throat, of which he died the 4th of August following.

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Ligonier *. "The British troops, and all the forces of the allied army, who were engaged in this action, behaved with the utmost resolution, bravery, and intrepidity †." The king continued the whole day at the head of the foot, and the bravery of his troops cannot be too much commended. His infantry still gained ground from the beginning, until they remained masters of the field. His cavalry supported, for eight or nine hours, the most severe cannonade that ever was known, and then attacked the household troops, who, to do them justice, supported the ancient reputation of their corps with great bravery. In this action, Ligonier's regiment of horse, and Bland's dragoons, suffered most, and gained great reputation ‡." The total loss among the British troops amounted to two hundred and sixty-five killed, and five hundred and sixty-one wounded ||.

* Brother to the general, and lieutenant colonel of his regiment.

† Lord Carteret's Letter June 20.

‡ Ibid. July 16.

|| The following abstract is authentic:

HORSE.

Third troop of guards. Killed: 1 private man, and 4 horses. Wounded: lieutenant-colonel Lamellionere; major Johnston, captain Wills, and 2 private men. — Fourth troop of guards. Killed: 2 private men, and 9 horses. Wounded: 2 private men. — Second troop of grenadier guards. Killed: 2 private. Wounded: lieutenant Elliot, and 1 private. — Royal regiment of horse guards. Killed: 1 drummer, 7 private, and 22 horses. Wounded: cornet Davies, 11 private, and 14 horses. — The king's regiment. Killed: captain Merider, lieutenant Draper, cornet Aldcroft, 8 private

men, and 20 horses. Wounded: major Carr, captain Saurie, captain Smith, lieutenant Wallis, 2 quarter-masters, 28 private men, and 24 horses. — Lieutenant-general Ligonier's. Killed: 1 quarter-master, 21 private men, and 35 horses. Wounded: lieutenant-colonel Ligonier, captain Stuart, captain Robinson, lieutenant Cholmondeley, cornet Richardson, 2 quarter-masters, 30 private men, and 27 horses.

DRAGOONS.

Royal regiment. Killed: 3 private men, and 26 horses. Wounded: 3 private men, and 8 horses. — Royal North British. Killed: 4 horses. Wounded: 1 lieutenant, and 4 horses. — The king's regiment. Killed: 1 lieutenant, 1 serjeant, 2 drummers, 38 private men, and 141 horses. Wounded: major Honeywood, captain Brown, 1 lieutenant, 3 cornets, 3 quarter-

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The principal officers among the slain on the French side were the major-general de Chabannes Mariolles; the brigadier-generals, viscount de Coetlogon, duke de Rochechouart, marquis de Vaudrieul, marquis de Wargeomont, messieurs de Pinon, Langeris, Charpentiere,

masters, 6 serjeants, 5 drummers, 86 private men, and 50 horses. — Sir Robert Rich's. Killed: 1 serjeant, 3 private men, and 39 horses. Wounded: 1 serjeant, 5 private men, and 8 horses. — Earl of Strair's. Killed: 2 private men, and 18 horses. Wounded: 1 private man, and 9 horses. — The Queen's regiment. Killed: lieutenant Falconer, cornet Hoby, 1 serjeant, 1 private man, and 22 horses. Wounded: lieutenant Frazer, cornet St. Leger, 1 quartermaster, 2 serjeants, 13 private men, and 13 horses.

FOOT.

Lieutenant-general Howard's. Killed: 1 private. Wounded 31. — Onslow's. Killed: 1 serjeant, 5 private. Wounded: lieutenant colonel Keightley; major Barry, who died on the 7th of July; 1 lieutenant, 2 serjeants, and 28 private. — Sowle's. Killed: 11 private. Wounded: major Greenwood, captain Lee, and 28 private men. — Duroure's. Killed: captain Phillips, lieutenant Monro, and 27 men. Wounded: captain Campbell, 1 lieutenant, 1 ensign, 3 serjeants, 2 drummers, and 60 private men. — Pulteney's. Killed: 21 private men. Wounded: 2 ensigns, 1 drummer, and 29 private men. — Bligh's. Killed: 1 private man. Wounded: 1. — Scotch fusileers. Killed: lieutenant Yonge, 1 serjeant, and 35 men. Wounded: 1 lieutenant, 1

serjeant, 2 drummers, and 53 men. — Welch fusileers. Killed: 15 men. Wounded: colonel Peers, mortally, 1 lieutenant, and 27 men. — Handasyde's. Wounded: 1 man. — Huske's. Wounded: the colonel, and 3 men. — Johnson's. Killed: captain Campbell; the lieutenants Strangeways, Maxwell, and Fletcher; 2 serjeants, 1 drummer, and 23 men. Wounded: 50 men. — Ponsonby's. Killed: 4 men. Wounded: 1 captain, 1 serjeant, and 14 men.

HORSE and DRAGOONS.

Killed: 2 captains, 3 lieutenants, 2 cornets, 1 quartermaster, 3 drummers and trumpeters, 88 private men; in all 101; as also 327 horse. Wounded: 2 lieutenant-colonels, 3 majors, 6 captains, 6 lieutenants, 6 cornets. 5 trumpeters and drummers, and 182 private men; also 155 horses.

FOOT and ARTILLERY.

Killed: 1 lieutenant-general, 1 major, 2 captains, 5 lieutenants, 4 serjeants, 1 drummer, and 145 common men; also artillery 5; in all 164. Wounded: 2 major-generals, 1 brigadier-general, 2 colonels, 1 lieutenant-colonel, 2 majors, 3 captains, 3 lieutenants, 4 ensigns, 7 serjeants, 5 drummers, and 297 men; also artillery 8; in all 335.

Total killed 265
Wounded 561

Boisson

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Boisson, and Bonquoiran; and the colonels, the marquis de Sahran, de Fleury, and de Chavigny. Among the wounded were, the lieutenant-generals, count de la Mothe, Houdencourt, duke d'Harcourt, count d'Eu, de Cherisy, and the marquis de St. André: the major-generals, marquis de Montgibault, Magnanes, count de Beuvron, duke de Boufflers, and duke d'Ayen, eldest son of the marshal Noailles: the brigadiers, marquis de Gant, Descayeuls, d'Auger, and Beaumont: with the colonels Chabot de la Sern, Gontoult, and Gustinier*. The French also lost six standards†, and six pair of colors, which were sent to England.

M. Voltaire mentions two striking incidents in this battle: the one of the young count of Boufflers, who was only ten years and a half old, yet was in the engage-

HANOVERIANS and AUSTRIANS.

HANOVERIANS.	Killed.	Wounded.	Lost.
— Horse	6	10	4
— Foot	171	335	27
AUSTRIANS. — Dragoons	31	22	12
— Foot	282	387	241
— Artillery	2	0	0
Total	492	754	283

* With many others of distinction; as well as several officers and others of the French king's household, particularly colonel de la Sale, the prince of Montbelliard, chevalier de Reville, the marquis of Merinville, and colonel de Combes: the duke de Ayen, had a horse killed under him, was wounded in the head, and trampled under foot. The count de Noailles had two horses shot under him, as he was rallying his regiment, which had given ground: and the duke de Richlieu had three aid-de-camps killed by his side.

† 1. A white standard finely embroidered with gold and silver; a thunder bolt in the middle, upon a blue and white ground. 2. Red; two hands with a sword; a laurel-wreath and imperial-crown at the top. 3. Yellow, embroidered with gold and silver: the sun in the middle. 4. Green, in the same way. 5. Red; but the mast tore off. 6. White, embroidered with gold and silver: in the middle a bunch of nine arrows, tied with a wreath, all stained with blood; and the lance broke.

ment, and received a mortal wound by a cannon-ball: the other of the DUKE of CUMBERLAND, who was wounded himself; yet would not suffer the surgeons to dress him, until they had dressed the wound of a French officer *, who was brought near his tent. M. Voltaire, also acknowledged, that the French fell into the very snare they had laid for their enemies †. The truth is, that marshal Noailles after possessing the posts on the Upper Maine, intended to secure the pass at Dettingen, and cut off all supplies from the confederates, who must have inevitably perished for want. This was a refined scheme, and so artfully laid, that if it had been equally conducted, it must have succeeded, and immortalized the reputation of the French marshal: but the misconduct is entirely to be attributed to the duke de Grammont,

* This was the young count de Fenelon, who was saved by some grenadiers, but had his life saved by one of the DUKE of CUMBERLAND's domestics, and led to his quarters. The English surgeons were fully employed among the wounded; but when the DUKE was informed of the misfortune of count de Fenelon, he immediately dispatched the surgeon, who was beginning to dress his Royal Highness's wound, to the assistance of the distressed captive. As an instance of his humanity, as well as of his valor, "Begin, says his Royal Highness, with the wound of the French officer; he is more dangerously hurt than I am, and stands more in need of assistance."

† This author does equal justice to both armies, and their commanders; observing, that "the battle continued three hours; but that the terms were very unequal;

because courage alone was engaged against valor, number, and discipline." He well knew, that the English at Dettingen, fought under the same disadvantages as at Agincourt. This celebrated author says, that he met marshal Stair some weeks after the battle, and took the liberty to ask him, "What he thought of the affair of Dettingen?" when the marshal replied, "I think, you committed one mistake, and we two: your's was passing the hollow way, and not having patience to wait: our's was first exposing ourselves to destruction, and then not making a proper use of our victory." M. Voltaire has not explained the latter part of this speech; though he knew, that it was recommended by marshal Stair to pursue the advantage, and attack marshal Noailles early in the morning; which advice was rejected.

who

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who had positive directions to fortify the pass at Dettingen, and not to advance until farther orders *.

The French cavalry, particularly the household-troops, lost no reputation by their behavior: but their infantry shewed as much remissness and cowardice as can well be expressed; especially the regiment of guards, who made the best of their way, without firing a shot †.

The British troops were animated by the presence and courage of their king and prince; their auxiliaries, inspired by their example, behaved with surprizing bravery and regularity; and, after repulsing the French, remained masters of the field of battle, which effected their design of marching to Hanau. The confederates were absolutely victors: but were obliged to abandon the field of battle for want of provisions and tents ‡. Unhappily for those who had the misfortune to be wounded during the night, there fell a heavy shower of rain, which continued without intermission, until eight in the morning; and occasioned a dreadful mortality among the

* Is it not surprizing, that when marshal Noailles was sensible of so rash a proceeding, that he did not order a reinforcement from his camp; especially as he had so much leisure for doing it, and knew that the allies were superior to the troops commanded by his nephew?

† They were afterwards distinguished, in their own army, by the title of *Canards du Maine*. — On the contrary, a new regiment of Walloons, commanded by the young prince d'Aremberg, defeated three battalions of French successively; which was observed by his Britannic majesty, who mentioned it to the duke d'Aremberg, and was politely answered,

“ They would behave better in a little time, for they copied after the British infantry.”

‡ It seems highly inconsistent with the character of a victorious army, to march out of the field of battle, and leave their own wounded men to the mercy of the defeated enemy; yet such was the behaviour of the confederates at Dettingen. They passed all the night, under arms, on the plain behind that village, and his Britannic majesty continued in the field until ten o'clock; after which, he took up his quarters at Heinstein, having visited the DUKE of CUMBERLAND, and embraced him in the most affectionate manner.

among

disabled wretches, who lay weltering in their blood, on the naked soil, exposed to all the inclemency of the weather.

The same night, it was recommended by marshal Stair to pursue the advantage, and attack marshal Noailles early in the morning; but this advice was rejected, and it was determined to march immediately to Hanau: upon which, marshal Stair sent a trumpet to marshal Noailles, to acquaint him, "That his Britannic majesty having thought proper to remove to Hanau, he had left an independent company in the field, to take care of the wounded, who were strictly ordered to commit no hostilities: therefore the French might send a detachment to bury their slain; and it was hoped, they would treat with humanity those who were left behind." The French marshal immediately sent a party of horse from Aschaffenberg, who removed the wounded of both armies, to the French hospitals, where the English had the greatest care and generosity shewn them by the French. This humanity was returned by the confederates to such of the French officers and men as were taken prisoners, who were abundantly more than the confederates taken in the battle: but the neglect of the wounded among the allies was also attended with this ill consequence, that as they were all made prisoners of war to the French, it increased the cartel so much in their favor, that the confederates had few to receive upon the balance: and the French, as they had the trouble of removing the wounded from the field of battle on this occasion, attributed to themselves the honor of a victory.

On

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On the 17th, being the day after the battle, the confederate army continued their march to Hanau; where they arrived in the afternoon, and were joined by the twelve thousand Hanoverians and Hessians. The whole allied army then consisted of forty-six thousand men; which were six thousand inferior to the French, who amounted to fifty-two thousand.

A general thanksgiving was performed on the 24th, by the whole confederate army at Hanau, on account of the late battle *. But the French also sung a general

* The earl of Craufurd received a desperate and fatal wound in the left thigh, at the battle of Krotzka, on the 22d of July 1739, when the imperialists, under the command of marshal Wallis, were defeated by the Turks, commanded by their grand vizir: and in the beginning of the action at Dettingen, lord Craufurd received a shot, which went through his right holster-case, on his sound side; but luckily hit the barrel of his pistol, and dropped dead in the holster-case; which ball his lordship shewed the next day to his majesty at Hanau; and the king, when he saw his lordship approaching, said to the DUKE of CUMBERLAND, and the rest of the general officers, "Here comes my champion." Bravery in action, and patience in supporting afflictions, constitute the greatest ornament of military virtue; which, was evidently shewn by what lord Craufurd had suffered, and the DUKE of CUMBERLAND sustained.

General Diemar told lord Craufurd, that wounds in battle were noble afflictions. His lordship had made a campaign on the Rhine in 1735, when prince Eugene commanded the imperialists against the French, who were commanded by

marshal Coigni. The prince admitted lord Craufurd to his most intimate friendship, and predicted of the young earl, as Louis XIV. had done of the duke of Marlborough. His lordship was present with his friend prince Waldeck at the action of Claussen; and made a campaign in the Russian army, commanded by marshal Munich against the Turks, in 1738, in Bessarabia, where he was present at several engagements, and acquired a thorough knowledge of their method of war. The same year, his lordship was at a review of the Polish army, commanded by his friend count Rutowski, the brother of marshal Saxe: and then joined the imperial army at Belgrade, where marshal Konigsfegg commanded those troops under the grand duke of Tuscany.

It is remarkable, that the earl of Craufurd, in those different campaigns, and his tour through Europe, contracted an intimate friendship with almost all the great generals of the age, as well those who were then in high command, as those who afterwards obtained the same honor; particularly prince Eugene, the grand duke of Tuscany, afterwards emperor of Germany, and his brother, prince

Te Deum

Te Deum on the same occasion: after which, marshal Noailles assembled all his forces, and removed his camp to Offenbach, a town on the south side of the Maine, at an equal distance between Hanau and Franckfort, and directly in sight of the confederates.

While the two armies continued in this situation, prince Charles of Lorraine had accomplished his work in Bavaria, and obliged marshal Broglio to retire before him through Suabia, to repass the Rhine, and take refuge in Alsace. This occasioned the Austrian army to bend their course towards the confederates, with an intention to inclose marshal Noailles, between their two fires; for which purpose the Austrians, under prince Charles, advanced to Heidelberg*: but the French marshal was not ignorant of his dangers, and prudently prevented it, by decamping on the 2d of July at night, after setting fire to the magazines. He made so speedy a retreat, that his whole army, after a march of forty miles, repassed the Rhine, between Worms and Oppenheim, being then within thirty miles of the Austrian army at Heidelberg. Marshal Noailles afterwards continued his march into Alsace, where he took possession

Charles of Lorraine: the king of Sardinia: the duke of Courland: the princes Lubomirski, Lobkowitz, Hohenzollern, Ferdinand, Wolfenbuttle, Waldeck, Birkenfield, HH-Burghausen, and Salm: the marshals Munich, Lascy, Seckendorff, Konigseck, Neuperg, Wallis, Schmettau, Jeher, Khevenhuller, Bathiani, and Traun: the generals count Brown; count Leopold Daun; count Caraffa; count Luchesi; count Rutowski, brother of marshal Saxe, Keith, Lowendhal, Fetmer,

Biren, Romanzoff, Minozzi, Styrum, Thungen, Bernclau, Thau, Berlichingen, Spada, Pallavicini, Ciceri, Philibert, Schultenberg, Linden, Lefchner, Diemar, Ogilvy, Baronai, Stofflen, Saint Ignon, Chavery, Roda, Guadagni, Andracchi, and others.

* The capital city of the elector Palatine, situated on the river Neckar; 12 miles N. E. of Spire; 17 S. E. of Worms; 40 S. of Franckfort; and 37 S. E. of Mentz.

of

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of the lines of Lauterberg*, without being pursued either by the confederates†, or the Austrians, who continued in the same situation at Hanau and Heidelberg. However, a cartel, for the exchange of prisoners, was soon after concluded at Franckfort; which will be particularly mentioned.

When the success of the confederates, at the battle of Dettingen, was known at Vienna, it caused the greatest acclamations; and when the news arrived at London, nothing could surpass the public rejoicings: but the confederate army was more highly elevated when they were informed of the success of the Austrians in Bavaria, and the expulsion of the French out of Germany.

On this occasion, prince Charles of Lorrain, marshal Khevenhuller, and prince Lobkowitz, wrote letters of congratulation to the DUKE of CUMBERLAND and marshal Stair: the letter‡ from prince Charles to his Royal Highness the DUKE, was as follows:

“ Most noble BROTHER,

IT is with the greatest, joy, that I take the opportunity to congratulate you, on the success of the British arms, under the command of your most august fire. The advantage that her majesty of Hungary must gain

* These famous lines were cast up by the Germans between this place and Weisenberg, to defend their frontiers against France, before Landau fell into the hands of the French.

† The allies sent a party of horse towards Oppenheim; which party took some of the baggage, and returned with the prince of Craon's son prisoner, who lay indisposed at a village, by a wound he received at Dettingen. — The allies joined

the Hanoverians and Hessians; which obliged the French to think of protecting their own dominions, instead of losing their men in Germany, where, according to M. Voltaire, they had sent above 120,000 men; out of which, marshal Broglie brought back only, 30,000; and was then banished the court, in compliance to the emperor.

‡ It was dated Pueck, near Dönnawert, June 19-30, 1743.

by

by this speedy and powerful assistance of her generous allies, are too considerable to be passed over without acknowledgment. The king of Great Britain has singularly and nobly proved himself a friend, when we were deserted by every other ally. This success, and the spirit and ardor shewn by the allied army on the Maine, will, I hope, at last induce others, who have been deliberating when they should have been in action, to join the common cause, and drive the common disturber of Europe from a country, which they only entered to ravage; and, under the specious pretence of securing the peace of the empire to embroil it in the most terrible manner. Heaven has been propitious to our arms, and seems to smile upon all who assist the queen of Hungary. I am greatly concerned that your Royal Highness received any hurt in the battle: but the glory that attends you, on this your first entrance into arms, will more than compensate that misfortune. May you still proceed to emulate the glorious deeds of your ancestors; and, as you increase in years, be more a terror to your foes *."

The letter from marshal Khevenhuller, to marshal Stair, was addressed in the following words:

"My LORD:

"**A**LL true lovers of liberty, of which your lordship hath always been a strenuous assertor, and for which our countrymen, the Germans and the Britons,

* This wish was soon accomplished. — His serene highness farther acquainted the DUKE of CUMBERLAND, as follows: "I have formed my plan of operation in such manner, that I am in hopes soon to join the army of the allies with my whole force; when, by the aid of divine Providence, in all probability, we shall be enabled

to root our destroyers out of this once flourishing, but now impoverished country; and carry the ruin and desolation they intended for us, into their own territories." His serene highness concluded, "That he would soon pay his respects to his Britannic majesty, and his Royal Highness, in person."

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have lost so much blood and treasure, must be delighted at the prospect of having it restored to them, whole and entire, as it was delivered down to us by our ancestors." His excellency then censured the dilatory conduct of the Dutch, and proceeded in this manner: "it is impossible to express the pleasure and satisfaction that appeared in the face, and was diffused through the heart of every true German, upon his Britannic majesty's appearing in the field in behalf of her Hungarian majesty. Nothing could add to that pleasure, but the confirmation we have received of the victory obtained over the French in the first opening of your campaign. May God prosper all your attempts, and give never-failing success to your arms! I hope ours will soon second you; and then we may conjointly be the better able to restore the balance of Europe according to the orders of our respective sovereigns, and to establish a firm and lasting peace. The rank with which my royal mistress has honored me, emboldens me to congratulate you on the action at Dettin-gen; where, according to our informations, you have, under his Britannic majesty, gained a complete victory. As a soldier, I esteem your conduct and intrepidity; and when I have the happiness of a nearer acquaintance, which I hope will not be long, I do not doubt but I shall have sufficient reason, to increase my admiration and regard. Your troops are the only allies that have dared to take the field in behalf of injured royalty, of a queen and people who arm only to defend their rights and privileges. If our undisciplined troops, many of them taken raw from tillage, and ignorant of the art of war, have been able to oppose the best French generals and armies, what may we not hope now we are supported

ported by his Britannic majesty and his GALLANT SON in person, with so fine a body of troops, commanded by a general so brave and experienced as the earl of Stair? — We have drove them from the Danube; and I make no doubt but you will, by the blessing of God, drive them from the Rhine. We know they are not to be dreaded: I have known it two campaigns: and your lordship has given them plain proof that the British troops are more than a match for them, since you have beat them with some thousands odds to you."

The letter from prince Lobkowitz was as follows :

" My LORD!

"**P**ERMIT me, with the rest of the Austrians under my command, to pay my devoirs to your excellency at this important crisis. The success of the arms of our good and generous allies, will always afford us as much pleasure as of our own; not only as it will contribute towards restoring a general tranquillity in Europe, but will very much advance the interest and cause of my royal mistress in particular *. — Heaven has

* The prince then expatiated upon the injustice that had been done her Hungarian majesty and her illustrious consort. He observed, that her side had been shamefully deserted by some who had particular obligations to her august family; and by nations and people who had been protected in their distress by her imperial ancestors. Her illustrious consort had been deprived of his heritage by the machinations and intrigues of an all-grasping court, that fomented quarrels throughout the whole world, that they might tyrannize over their neighbors. Their pusillanimity had made them fly from even the Croats, Pandours,

and Warasins: but their treachery, when force failed, would have infatuated the infidels, in breach of the most solemn treaties, to fall upon a country which must necessarily be defenceless on that side, because its inhabitants were employed in defending their sovereign, their families, and all that was dear to them against an enemy on the other side which had embroiled an empire wherein they had no manner of concern: but the Mahometan emperor shewed more regard to his word than the most Christian king, and scorned to violate agreements which the latter perfidiously broke.

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prospered our attempts, and suffered us to shew mankind, how much more, men fighting for their country, their liberties, and birth-rights, can do, than a set of mercenaries, who come only to pillage, plunder, and destroy the country they pretended to protect. How different is the scene since Vienna was threatened with a siege, now Branau has surrendered ! the insulting foes that used the Bavarians and Bohemians, whom they came to serve, in a worse manner than they had it in their power to use their declared enemies, retire precipitately, as not able to withstand the force of our arms. We drove them to you : you have bravely and generously acknowledged us, and defended our cause. Our united armies, I make not the least question, will make them glad, I mean the few that remain of them, to retire into their own country, and curse the ambitious schemes of their ministry. It certainly must be deemed both an ambitious and tyrannical step in the French court, to influence an election that ought to be the most free in the world ; as such it must be considered as an arbitrary proceeding, and must be branded with infamy in all future records. On the contrary, how amiable and humane must the conduct of his most sacred majesty the king of Great Britain appear, who nobly fulfilled his engagements ; when all others declined, or deliberated, under frivolous pretences. I do not doubt but your lordship will join with me, when I, in the sincerest manner, return thanks to the Almighty for protecting his majesty's sacred person from danger in the height of the battle. I am sorry his Royal Highness the DUKE of CUMBERLAND received any hurt : but military honors are gained by risking danger ; and this, perhaps, is only the prelude of his

his Royal Highness's one day commanding an army to obtain victory, when the fate of empires may depend on one decisive stroke*. This comes pretty near it. And under the auspices of his BRITANNIC MAJESTY, and the direction of your lordship, what may not Europe expect from such a young and valiant PRINCE!"

Prince Charles of Lorrain, accompanied by marshal Khevenhuller, prince Esterhasi, count Brown, and some other general officers, arrived at Hanau on the 27th of July, about two in the afternoon, when his Royal Highness the DUKE of CUMBERLAND immediately sent a message to compliment him thereupon, which the prince returned by lieutenant-general Brown. The nobility and general officers then paid their compliments to the prince upon the same occasion; and about seven he went to the palace in the old city to wait upon his Britannic majesty, to whom he was introduced by the earl of Holderness, the lord of the bedchamber in waiting. The prince was received by the king in the most gracious and affectionate manner: He stayed at court about three hours, and then returned to his own apartments, attended by the marshals Stair and Khevenhuller. These two illustrious commanders expressed the greatest satisfaction by being indulged with this opportunity of a personal conversation; and assisted at a council of war for regulating the future operations of the campaign.

The next day, his Britannic majesty, accompanied by prince Charles; the princes William, George, and Frederick of Hesse; prince Esterhasi; the marshals Stair,

* This seems a prediction, which was afterwards literally fulfilled at Culloden.

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Khevenhuller, and Neuperg; with most of the generals and other persons of distinction, went from the city to the camp, where the whole army was drawn up, and passed in review; when the Austrian generals expressed great satisfaction at so fine an appearance. Prince Charles dined with the king, of whom he took leave the same evening, and early the next morning set out on his return to the Austrian army, then encamped in the margraviate of Dourlach, from whence they marched towards the Rhine.

The cartel for exchange of prisoners was concluded at Frankfort, on the 18th of July, by the earl of Albemarle, and the count de Chanclos, on the part of the confederates; with the count de Segur, and the duke de Piquigny, on the part of the French. This cartel was never published by authority, and is esteemed a very scarce and valuable piece among military gentlemen; therefore, the following account * of it must please a curious reader, especially as the exchange of prisoners has ever since been regulated by that cartel.

This remarkable cartel was intitled, "A treaty and agreement for the sick, wounded, and prisoners of war of the auxiliary troops of his most Christian majesty, and for those of the allies †.

* Extracted from the journal of a general officer, who made that campaign.

† The cartel was wrote and signed in the French language; from which this is a translation — The plenipotentiaries were, on the French part, Henry Francis, count of Segur, lieutenant-general in the king's armies, governor of the county of Foix, lieutenant-general of Champagne and Brie, inspector-general of the horse and dragoons; and Mi-

chael Ferdinand D'Albert D'Ailly, duke of Piquigny, peer of France, lieutenant of the troop of light-horse of the king's body-guards, camp-marshal in his majesty's armies, governor of the towns and citadel of Amiens and Corbie, &c. &c. On the part of the allies, Charles Urbain, count of Chanclos, chamberlain, governor of Ostend, general field-marshal lieutenant in the Austrian troops; and William Ann, earl of Albemarle, major-general,

It consisted of the following articles :

I. " All the prisoners of war, of what nation or condition soever they may be, without any exception, who have been taken on either side by the armies at war, and their auxiliaries, since the fifteenth of June of this present year, about the Maine and Rhine ; or who may hereafter be taken in any other country where ever the said armies shall happen to go, shall be exchanged, or ransomed, within the space of a month, to begin from the day of the signing of this present cartel ; as shall be explained more at large in the thirty-ninth article. And the respective generals of the armies at war, and their auxiliaries, shall agree among themselves upon the place for the first reciprocal exchange and ransom of the prisoners to be returned on each side.

II. " All prisoners of war, of whatever nation and condition they may be, without any exception, who shall happen to be taken on either side, after the first exchange or ransom, by the armies or garrisons of the parties at war, and their auxiliaries, whether in battles, combats, taking of places, parties, or otherwise, shall be faithfully returned in fifteen days after their being made prisoners, or as soon as may be, by exchange of prisoners of the same rank or equivalency ; or of others, by making a due and proper allowance ; or else shall pay their ransoms

colonel of a troop of the King's life guards, lord of his majesty's bed-chamber, governor of Virginia, knight of the Bath, &c. &c. They declared, in the names of their royal masters, and by virtue of the full power given them, that " they did thereby make known that they had agreed upon the following articles, to be put in full force and strict ex-

ecution, to begin from the 15th of June of that year, between the armies at war and their auxiliaries about the Rhine and Mayne, and thereafter in any country where ever they should go : and that they had concluded this treaty by virtue of the full powers respectively granted to them."

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at the rate hereafter set down, that is, in German florins, both sides reckoning at sixty kreutzers the florin, or at the rate of two livres ten sols French money.

III. " There shall be a book kept of the prisoners in the armies at war, and their auxiliaries, in which the number sent back each month, on each side, shall be set down; that, on the first day of the month ensuing, each side may send the other an account of what has been received and returned, that in eight days after, the overplus, which remains due from the one side to the other, may be paid exactly and without difficulty. What money may have been advanced to the said prisoners, shall also be reckoned, that it may be repaid at the same time; that all accounts may be settled, and not carried over to the following month; and upon the first exchange or ransom of the prisoners on both sides, all debts on account of the money advanced them, shall be entirely cleared, upon such proper notes as shall be produced.

IV. " As often as any prisoners shall be sent back on either side, an account shall be sent with them; which account shall be delivered to the commanding officer of the place they are conducted to, who shall give a receipt of the number and condition of those he receives, to be accounted for every month, as already mentioned.

V. " And that no dispute or difficulty may arise, either with regard to the posts or commissions of the officers on both sides, or of the ransoms to be paid for each of them, it has been thought proper to specify hereafter the posts and commissions in the belligerent and contending armies, and to set down the several rates of them.

The following articles, from the VI, to the XXXI. inclusive, fully and particularly settle these conditions, as
may

may be seen in the following tariffe, which may be depended upon as authentic.

The T A R I F F E.

VI. " Posts and officers serving in the armies of his most CHRISTIAN MAJESTY."

	Germ. florins
A general of an army, or marshal of France	25,000
Captain-general	20,000
Lieutenant-general	5000
Great master of the ordnance	6000
Major-generals	1500
Colonel-general of horse	2000
Colonel-general of dragoons	1500
Maitre-de-camp general of horse	1500
Maitre-de-camp general of dragoons	1000
Commandant of horse	1500
Commissary-general of the horse	1000
Intendants of an army, or province	3000
Their deputies	250
The general of the provisions	300
Major-general of foot	500
Quarter-master general	500
Quarter-master general of the horse	100
Majors of brigades, as well of horse and dragoons,	
as of foot	150
Aid-de-camps	150
Treasurer-general of the army	250
The chief treasurer of each army	150
The other under-treasurers of the army	50
Brigadiers of horse or dragoons	900
Brigadier of foot	700
	Com-

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	Germ. florins.
Commissaries of war, or muster-masters	150
Inspectors of foot, horse or dragoons	150
Chief clerk of the provisions	150
The other under-clerks, and comptrollers	50
The captain vague-maitre	50
The captain of the guides	50
A guide on horseback of their company shall be used as the horse.	

VII. GENDARMERY.

The brigadier	550
Captain of his majesty's life-guards	1000
Captain-lieutenants of gendarms	1000
Captain-lieutenant of the guard	1000
Captain-lieutenant of the two troops of musketeers	1000
Lieutenant of the king's body-guard	1000
Sub-lieutenant of the chevaux-legers of the guard	1000
Sub-lieutenants of the troops of musketeers	1000
Ensigns of the king's body-guards	500
Ensign and guidon of the gendarms of the guards	500
Ensigns and cornets of the musketeers	500
Cornets of the chevaux-legers of the guard	500
Major of the king's body-guards	500
Two aid majors or adjutants of the king's body-guards	150
Captain of the duke of Orlean's guards	1000
Lieutenant	300
Captain-lieutenant of the gendarmery	750
Sub-lieutenants of gendarms	375
Ensign and guidon	250
Captain-lieutenants of the chevaux-legers of the gendarmery	500
	Sub-

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	Germ. florins.
Sub-lieutenants	250
Cornet	150
Major of the gendarmery	250
Aid-major, or adjutant	125
Sub-adjutants	62½

The exempts of the troops of life-guards, and quarter-masters of all the above-mentioned corps; the brigadiers, sub-brigadiers, life-guards, musketeers, gens-d'armes, and others of those companies, shall pay a month's pay.

VIII. FRENCH and SWISS GUARDS.

The colonel of the French guards	1500
Lieutenant-colonel	750
Major	300
Captains	150

The lieutenants, adjutants, sub-lieutenants, ensigns, and others, the private men included, shall pay a month's pay.

The prevots and prevots-lieutenants, quarter-masters, and archers of the prevots of the guard, shall pay a month's pay.

The colonel-general of the Swiss	600
Colonel of the Swiss guards	300

The captains, lieutenants, and other officers and soldiers, of the Swiss guards, shall pay the same as the French guards.

IX. INFANTRY.

Colonel of foot	600
Lieutenant-colonel	300
Majors	120
Captains	70
Aid-majors, or adjutants	30

Lieutenants

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	Germ. florins.
Lieutenants	24
Ensigns, or sub-lieutenants	20
Serjeants	10
Corporals; lance-pesadoes, or under-corporals; drums, fifes, hautbois, and foot-soldiers	4
The prevots of the several regiments, and the quarter-master	15
The prevots-lieutenants	5
Archers and clerks	2

The foreign infantry, or the provincial regiments or militia, shall be treated as the French infantry, officers as well as soldiers.

X. CAVALRY, CARBINEERS, and HUSSARS.

Maitre-de-camp, or colonel of horse	700
Lieutenant-colonel	300
Major	150
Captain	100
Lieutenant	40
Cornets, or lieutenants reformed	30
Adjutant	40
Quarter-master of a troop	14
Trumpets, or kettle-drums	10
Corporals, troopers, sappers, and smiths	7

All the French troops, officers as well as soldiers, of the ban, and arriere-ban, and of militia, shall be treated as cavalry if they are on horse-back, or as infantry if they are on foot.

XI. DRAGOONS.

The colonel, lieutenant-colonel, major, and captains, shall pay their ransom upon the footing of the horse: the officers below the degree of captains, down to the private men, shall pay as the foot.

XII ARTILLERY.

XII. ARTILLERY.

	Germ. florins,
Lieutenant-general of artillery of France ———	700
Lieutenants, or commandants ——— ———	250

The commissaries and other officers of artillery, cartwrights, workmen, harness-makers, drivers, makers of fireworks, smiths, and gunners, shall pay a month's pay.

XIII. BOMBARDIERS and FUSILEERS.

The colonel, lieutenant-colonel, and other officers, to be used as the French infantry.

XIV. Companies of GUNNERS and MINERS.

The officers and soldiers to pay a month's pay.

XV. ENGINEERS.

Engineer-general of France ——— ———	150
Engineers in chief of the armies, towns, and provinces ——— ——— ———	75
Other engineers ——— ——— ———	50
Undertakers of fortifications ——— ———	25
Overseers thereof ——— ———	15

XVI. Free Companies of DRAGOONS and FOOT.

The officers in full-pay and half-pay belonging to these companies, the private dragoons and foot soldiers which compose them, shall be exchanged man and horse, for one of the same sort: the same shall be observed for the foot, and for their ransoms. If there be none to exchange for them; officers, both in full and half-pay, dragoons and foot soldiers, shall pay a month of their stipend or pay.

The XVII.

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The XVII. article began with what regarded "officers and posts in the armies and garrisons of the allies, as follows:

	Germ. Army.
General-lieutenant	25,000
A general, field-marshal, commanding the army in chief,	25,000
Another general field-marshal	15,000
General of horse	10,000
General of artillery	6000
Commissary-general	3000
General field-marshal-lieutenant	5000
General watch-master	1500
Commissary-colonel	1000
General quarter-master	500
General proviant-master	300
Ober kriegs-commissary	150
Hoff-zahl-master	150
General kriegs-zahl-master	150
Ober quarter-master	150
General-adjutant	150
Proviant obrift-lieutenant	150
Proviant-director	150
Kriegs Commissarii	50
Proviant commissarii	50
General quarter-master-lieutenant	70
Proviant verwalter	40
Proviant officer	30
General waggon-master	50
His lieutenant	30
Stabs quarter-master	50
Stabs quarter-master-lieutenant	25
Captain of the guides	50

XVIII. Troops

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XVIII. Troops of LIFE-GUARDS, or ARCHERS on horse-back, belonging to the ALLIES.

	Germ. florins.
The captain	1000
Lieutenant	1000
Cornet	500

The other archers, officers, as well as troopers, shall pay a month's pay.

XIX. Companies of BODY-GUARDS, or TRABANS on FOOT, belonging to the ALLIES.

The captain	150
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The lieutenant and other officers, even to the traban and private men, shall pay a month's pay.

XX. CAVALRY.

Colonel of horse	700
Lieutenant-colonel	300
Major	150
Captain	100
Regiment quarter-master	40
Regiment auditor	40
Proviant-master of the regiment	15
Waggon-master of the regiment	15
Prevot of the regiment	15
Lieutenant	40
Cornet	30
Quarter-master	14
Corporal	14
Fourrier	14
Muster-schreiber	14
Trumpets and kettle-drums	10
Soldiers, flatners, and private troopers	7

XXI. The

XXI. The regiments and troops of horse militia to the allies shall be used like the cavalry, officers as well as troopers.

XXII. Hussars and Hungarians on horseback, both officers and troopers, to be treated as the cavalry.

XXIII. Dragoons, Croats, Slavonians, Rascians, or Illyrians: the colonel, lieutenant-colonel, major, and captain, shall pay their ransom at no other rate than those of the horse. The officers under the degree of captain, to private men, shall pay as the foot.

XXIV. The regiments and troops of Dragoon-militia belonging to the allies shall be used like the rest of the dragoons, officers as well as private men.

XXV. INFANTRY.

	Germ. florins,		
Colonel of foot	—	—	200
Lieutenant-colonel	—	—	300
Major	—	—	120
Quarter-master of the regiment	—	—	30
Auditor	—	—	30
Proviant-master	—	—	15
Waggon-master	—	—	15
Prevot of the regiment	—	—	15
Captain	—	—	70
Lieutenant	—	—	24
Ensign	—	—	20
Serjeant, or Feld-weible	—	—	10
Corporal, fourrier, muster-schreiber, drums, fifes, fourrier-schuts, and private centinels, shall pay	—	—	4

XXVI. The regiments of militia, or troops of infantry, belonging to the allies, shall be treated as the foot, officers, as well as soldiers.

XXXVII. The

XXVII. The Hungarians, Slavonians, and Croats, Rascians, or Illyrians on foot, both officers and soldiers, shall be used like the infantry.

XXVIII. ARTILLERY.

	Germ. florins.
Colonel of artillery	700
Leutenant-colonel	300
Zeug-liutenant	100
Ober-haubtman	80
Hauptman	70

The commissaries and other officers of the artillery, cartwrights, workmen, harness-makers, drivers, carters, makers of fireworks, gunners, smiths, and other officers of the artillery, shall pay a month's pay.

XXIX. ENGINEERS.

All engineers in chief, serving in the armies or garrisons	70
The other engineers	50
The surveyers	25

XXX. Companies of miners: the officers and soldiers shall pay a month's pay.

XXXI. Free companies on horseback, or on foot: the officers, troopers, and dragoons, and foot soldiers of those free companies, shall be exchanged and ransomed the same as the cavalry, dragoons, and infantry of the allies.

XXXII. That governors, commandants, king's lieutenants, majors, aid-majors, captains of town-gates, shall pay on both sides a month's pay for their ransom; and if they happen to have other employments, from which they actually receive higher pay, they shall pay according to the same employment: and forasmuch as

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no king's lieutenants, commandants, or town-major, receive any pay as such, their ransoms shall be settled according to the highest post they are in.

XXXIII. All those who hold different employments, shall pay their ransom according to the highest employment they hold; and in proportion to that shall be exchanged, or shall pay their ransom at the rate as aforesaid; nor shall any officer taken prisoner, on either side, be liable to be called upon for a higher exchange or ransom than is suitable to the rank in which he was employed in the army or in towns.

XXXIV. All other officers who may have been forgotten in this cartel, shall be released within fifteen days, paying a month's pay: and should any dispute arise concerning the rank, or pay of any officers taken prisoners, it shall be referred on both sides to the certificate of the general of the army, or of the commandant of the province, or of the governor of the nearest garrison.

XXXV. All reformed officers shall pay but one month of the pay they receive.

XXXVI. Volunteers serving in the armies without any commissions, shall be dismissed immediately on both sides, and shall have liberty to serve on in the armies they belong to: but such as bear commissions, shall be discharged as the troops of the said armies.

XXXVII. The provost-general, his lieutenants, and other officers, and guards of the connetablie; the auditor-general, his lieutenant, the stabs-auditor, and others; the directors, secretaries, and chancellists of the chancellerie of war; the secretaries to the generals and intendancies, treasurers, commissaries-general, and other secretaries; almoners, ministers, post-masters

sters, their clerks, courriers and postillions; physicians, apothecaries, directors, and other officers serving in the hospitals, or armies; equerries, maitres d'hotels, valets de chambre, and all other domestics, shall not be liable to be made prisoners of war, but shall be sent back as soon as possible.

XXXVIII. Servants taken prisoners shall be sent back on both sides without difficulty. Those who shall desert may enjoy the benefits of such passports as shall be granted them. As to thieves, the theft should always be restored, without sending them back: but the respective generals shall ever have it in their option to do it in case of murder or assassination. With regard to robberies committed by deserting soldiers, restitution shall be made; but the giving up of such deserters shall not be insisted on, upon any pretence whatever; both sides referring it to the option of the respective generals for such deserters as may have committed murders or other crimes. All deserters, domestics, or others, who shall go over from one side to the other, shall be stopped at the first post, where the commandant shall be very careful to have them narrowly searched, and to set down in writing the effects found about them, without suffering them to sell or give away any thing: after which, he shall order them to be taken to his general, where such deserters shall be detained three days; that in case they should prove to be thieves, each side may have time to claim them.

XXXIX. The exchanges and ransoms of prisoners, in the first as in the following ones, shall be made man for man, and officer for officer of equal rank, until there be no more prisoners left in the armies or prisons: and after all the exchanges are made of as many officers as

there are for officers ; and of troopers, dragoons, and foot-soldiers, for as many men of the same sort ; if then either side should chance to have more officers than soldiers left, or more soldiers than officers, that side shall be allowed to give officers for troopers, dragoons or foot-soldiers, according to the Tariffe inserted in the present cartel : and after all exchanges made in manner as aforesaid, should either side happen to have prisoners to spare, which could not be exchanged, the other side may withdraw them by paying their ransom ; for which purposes an account shall be given on both sides, of the quantity and quality of the prisoners taken, whether in battles or skirmishes ; or in the fortified places which have been taken.

XL. That each prisoner of war, in the belligerent and auxiliary armies, shall be allowed no more bread than the ration those troops receive : that it shall be respectively allowed to send them succors ; and in the place where such prisoners are kept, each general commanding the armies shall be free to keep an officer or commissary, with a passport, to provide for such succors as may be sent to the prisoners. A discount shall be made every month, of the bread given to the prisoners on both sides ; that which soever side is indebted to the other, may discharge it without difficulty ; and the overplus of bread shall be paid at the rate of two kreutzers or twenty French deniers, a ration ; with reciprocal promise to put the prisoners in decent places, with good straw, which shall be carefully renewed every eight days.

XLI. That care shall be taken of the wounded on both sides ; that their medicines and food shall be paid for ;
and

and that all costs shall be returned on both sides. That it shall be allowed to send them surgeons and their servants, with passports from the generals: that also those who may have been taken prisoners, and those who are not so, shall be sent back under the protection and safeguard of the generals, with liberty to be transported by land or water, as the greater conveniences of places shall permit: however, upon condition, that those who have been made prisoners shall not serve until they have been exchanged.

XLII. That the sick, on both sides, shall not be made prisoners: that they may remain with safety in the hospitals, where each of the belligerent and auxiliary parties shall be free to leave them a guard, which shall be sent back, the same as the sick, under the passports of the generals, by the shortest way, and without being liable to be molested or stopped. So likewise shall all commissaries or muster-masters, chaplains, physicians, surgeons, apothecaries, infirmarians, waiters, or other persons proper to attend the sick; who shall not be liable to be made prisoners, and shall be sent back in the same manner.

XLIII. Safeguards on both sides shall enjoy an entire security: and in case they should be found too near the armies, they shall be sent away without any violence or ill usage offered them.

XLIV. The prisoners shall by no means be compelled to enlist.

XLV. The prisoners shall be allowed to give advice of their imprisonment by an open letter.

XLV. Passports shall be granted, on both sides, to the *maitre d' hotels*, or stewards of the generals, to get provisions

visions : upon condition that they shall not approach the respective armies and strong-holds any nearer than two leagues.

XLVII. If there should happen to be any officer whose ransom was not settled by the present cartel ; or should any difficulty arise, it shall be agreed on both sides ; and whatever shall be the result shall be observed and kept to be inserted in the treaty, according to the certificates which shall be given by the generals of the armies, or the governors and commandants of the garrisons.

XLVIII. And for the greater security of fulfilling the present cartel, we have sent the foregoing articles to the chiefs of the belligerent and auxiliary armies ; and after having obtained their ratification thereof, we have signed this present treaty, and sealed it with our arms ; which shall be fully valid, to be inviolably observed, the same as if it were signed by their majesties, or their generals commanding their armies” *.

The French had lost ninety thousand men in Germany in three years, which obliged them to think of protecting their own dominions. Thus an offensive war, which first began at the gates of Vienna, turned into a defensive one on the banks of the Rhine ; and ten different armies engaged in this general dispute.

* It was underwrote, “ Done at Franckfort upon the Maine, the 28th of July, 1743 :” and was signed “ Henry Francis, count of Segur ; Charles Urbain, count of

Chanclos ; Michael Ferdinand D’Albert D’Ailly, duke of Piquigny ; and William, earl of Albe-marle.”

CHAP. IV.

The queen of HUNGARY crowned at PRAGUE. The SPANISH protest against it. The count d'OSTEIN elected archbishop of MENTZ. The EMPEROR proposes terms of accommodation with the QUEEN. The treaty of HANAU rejected; and the treaty of WORMS concluded.

WHILE the French and Bavarians were every where obliged to give way to the superior fortune attendant on the Austrian arms; the queen of Hungary, accompanied by the grand duke her husband, set out from Vienna for Prague *, where she made a magnificent public entry, on the 30th of April; and the ceremony of her coronation was performed in the cathedral on the 12th of May †. She left Prague on the 16th of June, and arrived at Lintz ‡ on the 25th, when she received the homage of the states of that province, with the greatest marks of loyalty and affection. In the midst of these solemnities, her majesty received the important news from the Maine, that the king of Great Britain, her faithful ally, had also on that side defeated her enemies; and, on the 4th of July, she returned to Vienna, from whence she sent congratulatory letters both to his Britannic majesty and the DUKE of CUMBERLAND, in which she highly thanked the king for his

* The capital of Bohemia, situated on the river Moldau, 140 miles N. W. of Vienna, 70 S. of Dresden, and 100 N. E. of Ratisbon.

† Her majesty was crowned queen of Hungary, at Presburg, on the 25th of June 1741. — A herald

in behalf of the emperor, and another in behalf of the king of Spain, protested against the legality of the coronation at Prague.

‡ The capital of Upper Austria, situated on the Danube, 108 miles W. of Vienna.

generous assistance, and greatly lamented the accident that happened to his Royal Highness the DUKE.

On account of her Hungarian majesty receiving the voluntary homage of her subjects at Lintz, a protest against it, signed at Augsburg on the 16th of July, was published by the count de Montijo, ambassador-extraordinary from the king of Spain to his imperial majesty; which was intended as a scheme for propagating a general confusion, until such times as the house of Bourbon was in possession of universal monarchy. By this protest, his Catholic majesty in the first place intimated, that he had a claim to Silesia: the next set out his title to the entire succession of the late emperor Charles VI. and afterwards gave the same overagain by retail, challenging first the kingdom of Hungary, then Bohemia, and lastly Austria, with all the pragmatic inheritance. From the manner in which this protest was worded, nothing could be more evident, than that it was a perpetual and indefeasible claim; from which, whatever might be done in words, his Catholic majesty and his successors never could or would depart; but, whenever the disturbances of Europe afforded them an opportunity, would be continually asserting these rights, and endeavoring, sometimes by force of arms, and at others by the arts of negotiation, to gain possession. The Spanish protest is the best key to the French cabinet; it plainly evinces, by the deduction of facts, that the conduct of France was totally governed by Machiavelian maxims, without any regard to religion, justice, faith, or honor: for here she set up two competitors against the queen of Hungary, professing that she was bound by treaties to support both; though their claims were as destructive of each other, as of the right of her Hungarian

garian majesty. Was not this palpably inconsistent? If France thought the house of Bavaria had any right to the Austrian inheritance, how came she to abet this claim of his Catholic majesty? If she thought there was any justice in the Spanish claim, how came she to sacrifice her troops in endeavoring to set up another? And this procedure could not fail to open the eyes of the emperor; who thus, in the day of his distress, found himself deceived, insulted, and abandoned to the resentment of her Hungarian majesty, whose favor he was determined to solicit, and procure, upon any reasonable terms.

The approach of the allied army into Germany proved highly advantageous to the interest of the court of Vienna, by the chapter of Mentz nominating John-Frederic-Anthony count d'Ostein to succeed the late archbishop in the electorate*; which was an important step, as this nobleman was strongly attached to the Austrian interest.

The emperor, wearied out with a destructive war, and relenting for the calamities he had brought upon his electoral subjects; deprived of the means to support his imperial dignity; and though graced with the most august titles, finding himself without an inch of territory, was sincerely disposed to effect an accommodation with the queen of Hungary. From the inactivity of marshal Broglio, his imperial majesty had long suspected the integrity of the French; and, so early as the beginning of June, requested prince William of Hesse-Cassel to

* The elector of Mentz has the first seat in the electoral college, of which he is dean: he is also great chancellor throughout

Germany. The new elector was likewise elected bishop of Worms in 1755.

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employ his good offices for obtaining the restoration of tranquillity to the empire; declaring, at the same time, that he left his affairs entirely to the prince; intreating only that the conditions might not be prejudicial to his honor and dignity, whatever they might be to his interest. Prince William was brother to the king of Sweden*, vice-landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and earl of Hanau †; therefore he was thought a proper person to merit both the confidence of the emperor and the king of Great Britain: because, as his royal brother of Sweden had intrusted him with the regency of his hereditary dominions, this gave him authority enough, as so considerable a member of the empire, to be relied on by the emperor: and as his eldest son prince Frederic ‡, apparent heir to the king of Sweden, had married the princess Mary, the fourth daughter of his Britannic majesty, this alliance sufficiently recommended him to the regard of that monarch.

His imperial majesty, a few days before the battle of Dettingen, visited the French camp; where marshal Noailles took an opportunity of shewing him the dangerous situation of the confederate army, and the diffi-

* He was elected king of Sweden in 1721, and succeeded his father Charles in the landgraviate of Hesse-Cassel in 1730.

† He was born the 10th of March 1682, and married the princess Dorothy Wilhelmina, of Saxe-Zeitz, by whom he had issue prince Frederic, born the 20th of March 1720, and the princess Mary, born the 25th of June 1721.

‡ He married the princess Mary, fourth daughter of his Britannic majesty, on the 9th of July 1741. The DUKE of CUMBERLAND, married his sister by proxy to the

prince of Hesse, who was knight of the garter, general in the Prussian service, and deputy-governor of Magdeburg; but declared himself a Roman-catholic in 1754; and succeeded his father in the landgraviate on the 28th of January 1760. By this princess, who was born the 5th of March 1723, he had three sons; George-William, hereditary prince, born the 3d of June 1743; Charles born in 1744; and Frederic, in 1747: but the princess separated from her husband when he changed his religion; and the children were educated under her protection.

culty they would have to escape. This gave spirited hopes to the dejected emperor, who expected to hear of the allies being totally defeated: but when he found the event of that day so contrary to his expectation, and destructive of his interest, he sedulously applied himself to the pursuit of those pacific measures he had recommended to the care of his Britannic majesty.

Marshal Khevenhuller granted a cessation of arms to marshal Seckendorff; during which, prince William of Hesse strenuously recommended the interest of the emperor to the king of Great Britain; and after some propositions and replies between the prince and lord Carteret, they proceeded to more extensive conferences on the 3d of July, and at last the preliminary articles * were drawn up and settled between prince William and lord Carteret.

* They were as following:
 "I. That the emperor should dismiss the French troops, and engage they should evacuate Germany. II. That he would immediately, in conjunction with his Britannic majesty, form a confederacy between the states of the empire and the maritime powers, for the public good, in order to engage France to consent to a solid and durable peace. III. That as his imperial majesty by this step forfeited all his hopes of succor and support from France; and his patrimonial estates being so consumed and impoverished by the war as not to furnish him with a revenue adequate to his quality; a monthly subsidy should be allowed him, to commence a month after signing the treaty, and continue until a method could be found of concerting, with the states of the empire, the means of making a provision for their head, suitable to his rank and dignity. IV. That as the queen of Hun-

gary could not be brought to consent to restore Bavaria and the Upper Palatinate, until she was satisfied with regard to his pretensions on the Austrian succession; his imperial majesty agreed to renounce, for himself and his successors, all claims on this head. V. That as soon as this act of renunciation was solemnly passed, the queen of Hungary should restore the emperor to all his hereditary dominions. VI. That the queen should acknowledge the emperor in quality of head and chief of the empire: and in return his imperial majesty should own her as queen of Hungary and Bohemia; as also use his interest with the states of the empire to revive the vote for Bohemia in the electoral college, suspended at the last diet of election. VII. That, the better to establish a solid peace, a general amnesty should be proclaimed on both sides, all confiscations and sequestrations annulled, and all hostages and prisoners of war released."

Lord

Lord Carteret was cautious of executing these articles without the approbation of the lords of the regency in England, to whom they were immediately transmitted: but when the messenger arrived at London with the preliminaries, some of the lord-justices assembled, and the minor part of the regency undertook to annul the treaty, and return the messenger to lord Carteret, with this answer: "That they were of opinion, it was better, till the accomplishment of a general peace, to leave the burden of supporting his imperial majesty on the court of France, who would soon be tired of the expence: that the emperor had not yet disengaged himself from the court of Versailles, but by words: however, his true interest would be, to throw his affairs into the hands of his Britannic majesty without reserve; since his only resource lay in the terms that England could procure for him."

With these negative restrictions, the messenger returned to lord Carteret on the 1st of August. His lordship immediately acquainted prince William of Hesse, that the treaty was disapproved by the ministry in England, and communicated to his Highness the reasons he had received for that rejection. However, his lordship acquainted the prince, that "endeavors should nevertheless be employed, in conjunction with the court of Vienna, to obtain the satisfaction desired by the emperor."

When the prince of Hesse received this information, he was greatly disgusted, and absolutely refused to have any farther concern in so fruitless a negotiation *. Lord

* The preliminary articles were so agreeable to both the negotiators, and thought to be so effectually settled, that the next day was ap-

pointed for the execution of them; but, until they could be communicated to the courts of London and Vienna, the following separate ar-

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Carteret was sincere in the terms, and the emperor was to have six millions of florins a year: but his ministerial enemies at London thwarted every thing he would have done at Hanau; though this treaty was evidently advantageous to Great Britain and her allies, if any peace was to be made at all: and when his Prussian majesty afterwards broke through the treaty of Bresslau, and again took arms against the queen of Hungary, he founded his justification on the rejection of the treaty of Hanau*.

His imperial majesty was as much disgusted as the prince of Hesse: but he was not in the same capacity of freely declaring his sentiments. He therefore stifled his resentment; because, as the queen of Hungary had refused the mediation of the imperial diet, the emperor had no other way to procure an accommodation than by

ticle, was agreed on: "That his imperial majesty, in agreeing to those articles, as the basis of an accommodation between him and the queen of Hungary, depended on his Britannic majesty for their being faithfully executed: and, as he put an entire confidence in him, the king, in return promised to serve him with all his interest, and engaged to procure him farther advantages." But lord Carteret afterwards sent prince William the following declaration: "That his Britannic majesty, though he entirely approved of both the preliminary and separate articles, would not determine on the signing of them, until he had caused them to be communicated at London, and could know how far the regency would approve them, as the basis of an accommodation, for him to be certain, that the parliament would have no objection to it, nor to the subsidy which was to be paid his imperial majesty: but his majesty

did not doubt that the project would gain the approbation of the British regency."

* The prince of Hesse was mistaken in the conduct of lord Carteret, who, being sensible, that if peace was the only fit measure for British ministers to pursue, found the present the most favorable opportunity of observing it, that England, in his time, was ever like to be blessed with; and his lordship was sincerely disposed to have concluded the treaty, rather than force the emperor to have recourse to such other measures as would contribute most to a vigorous prosecution of the war. Besides, on his return to London, lord Carteret avowed, to the imperial and Prussian ministers, "That the treaty of Hanau would have been a good treaty for England; and that his purpose was to have carried it into execution, if the lords of the regency had not put it out of his power."

the

the mediation of the maritime powers. But all his offers, though not immediately rejected, terminated without any effect; being evaded by the excuses of dispatching couriers, and such pretences, until the conclusion of the treaty of Worms; after which, not a single step was taken towards an accommodation *.

Count Traun, who commanded the Austrian army in Italy, defeated the Spanish army under the command of the count de Gages, at Campo Santo, near the Panaro, on the eighth of February†. But his Sardinian majesty‡,

* The emperor was willing to accept any terms which the maritime powers should think fit to prescribe; and, in pursuance of his instructions, the baron d'Hallang acquainted lord Carteret, "That his imperial majesty, for the sake of peace, would allow the strong towns of Bavaria to be garrisoned by neutral troops, and renounce all pretensions to the Austrian succession: That he would consent to the assembling a neutral army in the empire; to augment that army with fifteen thousand of his electoral troops; and to relinquish the fortresses of Phillipsburg and fort Keil to the troops of the circle of Suabia. His imperial majesty also offered to give his daughter in marriage to the archduke, who was then three years of age; and to secure the imperial dignity in reversion to the House of Austria, by procuring the young archduke to be elected king of the Romans; and that he would abide by the judgment of the maritime powers, on the single condition of obtaining a restitution of his hereditary dominions, even with the mortifying restriction of leaving all the fortified towns in the possession of neutral troops."

† The Austrians and Piedmontese had 1200 men killed, 400

wounded, and 230 taken prisoners: among the prisoners were the Austrian lieutenant-generals Ciceri and Count de Beyerberg, as also Count d'Apremont, a lieutenant-general in the Sardinian service; they were all three dangerously wounded; general Ciceri recovered, but the two others died of their wounds. The Spaniards had 3500 men killed, 2000 wounded, and 1000 taken prisoners.

‡ Charles-Emanuel-Victor, king of Sardinia and duke of Savoy, was born the 27th of April 1701, and succeeded both to the kingdom and dutchy on the 3d of September 1733, on the resignation of his father Victor-Amadeus, who chose to abdicate the throne, and died in 1732. His present majesty, has had three wives. His first was the princess of Sultsbach, whom he married in 1722, and she died in 1723, leaving a son who died in 1725. His second was a princess of Hesse-Rhinefeld, whom he married in 1724, and by her had issue Victor-Amadeus-Maria, prince of Piedmont and duke of Savoy, born in June 1726, and married, in April 1750, to the infanta donna Maria-Antonietta of Spain, by whom he had several children. His majesty's second queen died in January 1734: and his third wife was Elizabeth,

though

WILLIAM DUKE OF CUMBERLAND. III

though dispossessed of the whole dutchy of Savoy by the Spaniards, was unwilling to hazard the lives of his troops in dispossessing them; and contented himself until he saw the certainty of a proper satisfaction for his trouble, with defending the passes of the mountains into Piedmont, where he had assembled an army of forty thousand men, to oppose the infant don Philip *, who wanted to penetrate into the Austrian dominions on that side.

The court of Vienna conceived, that it was the interest of his Sardinian majesty to prevent the house of Bourbon from advancing to any farther dignity in Italy †; and this made the Austrian ministry but little inclined to make such concessions to the king of Sardinia as he insisted upon before he exerted his whole force in their favor. France and Spain embraced this opportunity, and offered his Sardinian majesty such advantageous terms, that the British ministry found it necessary to comply with his demands, and a treaty was accordingly negotiated at Turin,

princess of Lorrain, sister to the grand-duke of Tuscany, the consort of her Hungarian majesty; but this third queen died in child-bed in July 1741, leaving a son named Benedict-Mary-Maurice, duke of Chablais. — His majesty, on the first of February 1742, entered into a provisional convention with the queen of Hungary for securing the peace of Italy.

* The second son of Philip V. king of Spain, by his second wife the princess Elizabeth Farnese, heiress to the duke of Parma. The infant don Philip was born on the 15th of March 1720, and married Louisa-Elizabeth, eldest madame of France, who died in 1759, leaving issue prince Ferdinand, and two princesses, one of whom mar-

ried the second son of her Hungarian majesty in 1765. Don Philip, by the treaty of Aix-la Chapelle in 1748, was acknowledged duke of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, and died of the small-pox in 1765.

† Don Carlos, the king of Spain's eldest son by his second queen, was crowned king of Naples and Sicily in July 1735, and took upon him the title of king of the Two Sicilies, which was confirmed to him by the emperor Charles VI. from whom they had been conquered by the Spaniards: and the ambitious queen of Spain now wanted to obtain another sovereignty in Italy for her second son Don Philip, in which she was powerfully assisted by France.

which

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which was formally executed at Worms,* on the second of September, by lord Carteret, baron Wafner, and the chevalier Ossorio, the three plenipotentiaries authorized by their Britannic, Hungarian and Sardinian majesties to carry the treaty into execution; which was intituled, "A definitive treaty of peace, union, friendship and mutual defence between those three monarchs." The preamble set forth, "That the disturbances which arose in Germany, upon the decease of the emperor Charles VI. without issue male, notwithstanding the express tenor of the most solemn and recent treaties of peace and alliance, corroborated by the authentic guaranty of the body of the empire, which assured to his eldest daughter and her posterity the entire and indivisible succession to his hereditary dominions manifestly tended to the overthrow of all balance of power in Europe, and exposed it's liberty and commerce to the most imminent danger; which was increased by the conquest that the kings of Spain and Naples had openly undertaken to make of the dominions possessed by the house of Austria in Italy, contrary to the faith of their own engagements; after which, the rest of Italy would no longer be able to resist them, and all the coasts of the Mediterranean sea would be under subjection to one family: to obviate such impending evils, the contracting powers had resolved to enter into a closer and more inseparable union, in this fixed intention, and to preserve inviolably in joining their aids and counsels for obtaining the desired effect; and more especially for the sake of repelling, with one accord, the unjust invasion made by the kings of Spain and

* This is an imperial city in the palatinate of the Rhine, situated on the west bank of the Rhine; 25

miles N. W. of Heidelburgh, and the same distance S. of Mentz.

Naples

Naples, and for securing Italy from all attempts of the same kind."

The treaty consisted of seventeen articles, of which the principal were as following :

" V. That, as long as the war should continue, the queen of Hungary engaged to keep thirty thousand effective men in Italy : and the king of Sardinia engaged to employ forty thousand foot, and five thousand horse, comprehending in it what would be necessary for the garriſons, and defence of his own dominions.

" VI. That the king of Sardinia should have the ſupreme command of the allied army, when he should be there in perſon ; and he should regulate the military motions and operations of it, in concert with the queen of Hungary, according as the common intereſt and occaſions should require.

" VII. That as long as it should be neceſſary towards favoring and ſeconding thoſe operations, and as long as the danger of the allies and of Italy should demand it, his Britannic majeſty engaged to keep a ſtrong ſquadron in the Mediterranean, the admiral and commanders whereof should have orders to concert with the king of Sardinia, or with his generals, and thoſe of the queen of Hungary, the moſt proper meaſures for the ſervice of the common cauſe.

" VIII. That, to aſſiſt in bearing the extraordinary expence which the king of Sardinia muſt ſupport, in employing a greater number of troops than his own revenues could maintain, his Britannic majeſty engaged to furniſh him a ſubſidy of 200,000 l. ſterling per annum

during the war, to be paid every three months, and to commence from the 1st of February 1742 *.

This treaty of Worms was of the utmost consequence to the allies, by securing the king of Sardinia; because the war in Italy could not have been continued without his assistance: though nothing but the pressure of the times could have induced her Hungarian majesty to contribute so highly to the aggrandizing his Sardinian majesty. The whole treaty was calculated for the preservation and balance of power in Italy; which lord Carteret very minutely explained to the DUKE of CUMBERLAND, with as much pains as he afterwards explained the general system of Europe to his royal nephew, now king of Great Britain.

By this treaty of Worms, the future violence of the war was established, in opposition to the terms of peace proposed at Hanau; when the war in Germany might have been as agreeably terminated, and with as much real satisfaction to all the contending parties as it was after the loss of so many thousands of lives. But the emperor was still pacifically inclined; the proposals made

* The queen of Hungary, in consideration of the zeal and generosity with which his Sardinian majesty had been willing to expose his person and dominions for the public cause, transferred to him the districts of Vigevano, Pavese, and some other territories; with all her rights to the town and marquisate of Final, then mortgaged to the republic of Genoa for 300,000 l. sterling. — In return, the king of Sardinia engaged to remain firmly and inseparably united and attached to the interests and cause of the allies, not only during the war, but to the conclusion of the peace in Germany, and

of the peace between Great Britain and Spain. — By the XVth article, the king of Sardinia and the queen of Hungary, in gratitude for the generous concern of his Britannic majesty for the public security, and for that of Italy in particular, not only confirmed to the British subjects the advantages of commerce and navigation, which they enjoyed in their respective dominions; but promised to secure them by a specific treaty of commerce and navigation, whenever his Britannic majesty should require it of them. — The treaty was ratified by eleven lords of the British regency.

at Hanau were repeated at Vienna; and his Prussian majesty offered his mediation, jointly with that of the empire, to the maritime powers, to terminate so fatal a war: however, the courts of London and Vienna were now bent upon military operations; and the Dutch absolutely declined all mediatorial offices.

When the king of Prussia was convinced that the treaty of Worms had abolished all pacific sentiments at the court of Vienna, he was ambitious of shewing his influence in Europe; and, on the 20th of September, had an interview with marshal Seckendorf at Anspach*, from whence he proceeded privately to Franckfort, where he held a long conference with the emperor. This tour occasioned various speculations; but the designs of that wise monarch were too mysterious to be penetrated by the most discerning politicians: however the nature of his conferences may be conjectured, from his future conduct in opposing the queen of Hungary; especially as he afterwards publicly declared, that the more moderation was shewn by the emperor, the more visible was the inflexibility of her Hungarian majesty. These sentiments were early inculcated by the court of Versailles, and daily strengthened by its minister at Berlin, where it was represented, that the queen of Hungary had concluded alliances to indemnify the courts of London and Turin for the extraordinary succors which they afforded her, and that those indemnifications consisted as well in fiefs of the empire, as in hopes given in relation to certain bishoprics.

* The capital of the margraviate of Brandenburg Anspach, in the circle of Franconia, subject to its own margrave, of which family was the late queen Caro-

line, mother of the DUKE of CUMBERLAND. The city of Anspach is 20 miles S. W. of Nuremberg.

The consequence was, that his Prussian majesty disregarded the treaty of Breslau, and formed another alliance against the queen of Hungary.

The ministry at Vienna were of the same opinion with the lords of the regency at London, in refusing the overtures of his imperial majesty. Her Hungarian majesty had never acknowledged the emperor, but had formally protested against his election, and the suspension of her vote for Bohemia. These protests had not been registered by the late elector of Mentz; but when count Ostein became his successor, those protests were delivered into the dictature of the empire: and in September another protest was registered, whereby the queen declared the election of the emperor totally void, and that the diet then held at Franckfort was illegal. Her majesty also compelled the states of Bavaria to take an oath of allegiance to her as their sovereign, on pain of confiscation of their effects. This was protested against by the emperor: but it was recollected at Vienna, that he never made the least propositions of peace when he was in possession of Bohemia, and formed the idea of extinguishing the lustre of the Austrian line. Besides, the courts of London and Vienna were the more prevalently induced to continue the war, because the States-General had now ordered their twenty thousand men, voted for the service of the Hungarian queen, to march and join the confederate army in Germany. Nor was France idle at so favorable a conjuncture, when his Prussian majesty was ready to join the emperor, who on that account had 160,000 florins remitted him by the court of Versailles, to continue him in his adherence to France, while she

was

was establishing an alliance to defeat all the projects of the queen of Hungary and her confederates.

After the battle of Dettingen, nothing but perpetual animosities subsisted between the British and Hanoverian troops; because the former esteemed the latter only as mercenaries, and thought they enjoyed too much of the royal favor. The consequence was, that the duke of Marlborough resigned his commission; and marshal Stair relinquished the command of the army; which afterwards became a matter of great debate in the British parliament; but the Hanoverians at Fontenoy proved themselves worthy of the names of British allies at Dettingen, and ever after supported that name by their bravery in many engagements.

Marshal Stair obtained the permission of his Britannic majesty for his resignation and return to England. He was also charged with a commission to the States-General, to assure them of the friendship of his Britannic majesty. His lordship took an affectionate leave of the DUKE of CUMBERLAND, faithfully executed his commission at the Hague*, on the thirty-first of October, and then returned to England.

The Austrian General Festititz obliged count Herouville to surrender up Egrat, with the French garrison of two thousand five hundred men, prisoners of war. The commandant of Ingoldstadt † also surrendered the garrison of that

* His lordship urged "the states to a preservation of their union with Great Britain; as both countries had stood indebted for their liberties to this union, without which the independency of Europe had been often swallowed up."

† A city of Bohemia, situated

on the river Egra, 75 miles W. of Prague.

‡ As this was the strongest place in Bavaria, it was not only the general magazine of the electorate, but the treasury to which the public archives and all the valuable effects of the electoral family had

place, consisting of four thousand men, upon the same terms; after which general Festititz joined prince Charles of Lorraine, who was then attempting to pursue the French over the Rhine.

In pursuance of the plan concerted at Hanau, for the future operations of the campaign, the confederate forces, when joined by the Dutch, were to march from thence towards Landshut, in pursuit of marshal Noailles; while prince Charles of Lorraine was to attempt the passage of the Rhine into Upper Alsace: for if this was opportunely effected, the French must be inclosed between two fires, and obliged to venture a decisive battle. In consequence of which, his Britannic majesty, and the DUKE of CUMBERLAND, at the head of the allied army, that had been joined by colonel Mentzel with a body of four thousand Austrian irregulars, marched from Hanau on the fourth of August; on the twenty-seventh of the same month, they passed the Rhine, above Mentz; and proceeded to Worms, where his Britannic majesty and the DUKE of CUMBERLAND took up their head quarters, on the thirtieth, being guarded by the horse-regiment of militia belonging to the city. The army continued some time in their encampment here, expecting to be joined by the twenty thousand Dutch, who were then on their march commanded by count Maurice of Nassau, with orders to act as auxiliaries, under the command of either the Austrian or British general, as the service of the queen of Hungary required. As the Dutch troops had entered the

been sent from Munich for security; all which now fell into the hands of her Hungarian majesty, who declared her readiness to restore the

jewels and other effects to the emperor, as soon as a peace was concluded upon just and honorable terms,

palatinate

palatinate of the Rhine, the confederate army, on the twenty-fifth of September, advanced to Spire*, where they were joined by the Dutch.

Marshal Noailles continued posted in the strong lines of Lauterberg, near Landau: but colonel Mentzel made a successful incursion into French Luxemburg and Lorrain, where he published a manifesto, importing, " That the queen of Hungary having driven her enemies out of the empire, and being firmly resolved to prosecute her victories and advantages, had ordered him to penetrate into those countries, which the crown of France had found means to dismember from the German empire by her artifices and intrigues. That he was particularly instructed, to make it known to all the inhabitants of the provinces of Alsace, Burgundy, French Comté, Lorrain and Bar, as also the three bishoprics, and the countries formerly appertaining to the duchy of Luxemburg †; that it was by no means the inclination of her Hungarian majesty to use reprisals in those countries, for the safety of which the house of Austria would always interest itself, as preserving therein it's property: but she, on the contrary, intended to make known to all her subjects in France, how much

* An imperial city on the E. side of the Rhine, 15 miles S. W. of Heidelberg.

† Luxemburg is a province of the Austrian Netherlands, about 70 miles long, and 60 broad. The French possessed it many years; but were compelled to restore it to the house of Austria by the treaty of Utrecht in 1713, except the city of Montmedy, and some of the southern territory. — The duchy of Lorrain once made part of the circle of the Upper Rhine, being almost of a circular form, and above 100 miles

over either way. It is separated from Alsace by the mountains of Vauge, and is divided into three parts; 1. Lorrain proper; 2. The duchy of Bar; and 3. French Lorrain, consisting of the bishoprics of Metz, Toul and Verdun, which was confirmed to France by the treaty of Munster in 1648. In 1735, Lorrain was yielded to France; at least to the use of a king Stanislaus of Poland for his life, and then to revert to France; in consideration of which the duke of Lorrain obtained the grand duchy of Tuscany.

she was concerned to see them sigh under so insupportable a yoke ; and how sensible she was to behold the empire the constant theatre of every war, as being always liable to attacks through those provinces, and to become the object of all the wars which the ambition of France had raised, one after another, as well in the empire itself, as in the dominions of the house of Austria : wars that had cost the lives of so many millions of men, and made many more very miserable." Her majesty proposed the re-establishment and re-placing of all the before-mentioned provinces in their antient condition, and under their proper government ; with an intent to shut France within her former bounds ; so that she might no longer be troubled with the strange humor of intermeddling with the affairs of the empire, under the specious pretences of mediation, using her pacific good offices, or of any more enterprizing to direct or support the elections of an emperor, under the design of widening a road to that universal monarchy which had been her constant aim for many years. Colonel Mentzel exacted large contributions, and defeated a strong detachment sent against him by marshal Noailles. He also attempted to burn the French magazines at Landau, on the 25th of September at night, when he had the misfortune to break his leg, which frustrated the attempt.

About the same time as the confederates marched from Hanau, prince Charles of Lorraine left the neighbourhood of Heidelberg, at the head of sixty-four thousand men, and proceeded to the Brisgaw*, where his highness proposed to cross the river, expecting that the motions of the confederates would enable him to enter the dominions of France,

* One of the Austrian territories in the circle of Suabia, opposite to the upper Alsace, from which it is divided only by the Rhine.

which

which he apprehended, when two armies were raising contributions among her provinces, would begin to feel those miseries with which she had so wantonly afflicted the neighboring countries, and sink under the burden of a war when it should be carried on wholly at her own expence. Prince Charles had intelligence that the army under marshal Broglie were making movements on the borders of Alsace; upon which baron Trenck was detached with a body of hussars and pandours to secure Brisac, and make incursions over the Rhine upon the French; which orders were successfully executed.

Prince Charles arrived with the Austrian army at Friburg, the capital of the Brisgau; where a council of war was held, on the thirty-first of September, when it was agreed to attempt the passage of the Rhine. This was apprehended to be a work of the utmost difficulty; because marshal Coigni had an army of fifty thousand French ready to oppose the passage, who had been continually employed in erecting forts and redoubts along the banks of the river from Strasburg* to Hunningen†. Yet, with a resolution superior to all these obstacles, prince Charles was determined to venture upon the enterprize; but he could not succeed, notwithstanding all his noble attempts. The prince of Waldeck actually crossed the river with five companies of grenadiers; but was driven back by the two French battallions commanded by general Balincourt: after which there was a perpetual fluctuation of inconsiderable advantages untill the twelfth of October, when prince Charles, finding the confederates

* The capital of Alsace, near the west bank of the Rhine: it was a free imperial city, until surprized

by the French in 1682: it lies 55 miles W. of Sturgard, and 62 E. of Nancy.

† Fifty miles S. of Strasburg.

had made no attack upon marshal Noailles, decamped from the Brisgau, where he left fourteen thousand foot, and six regiments of horse and hussars, under the command of prince Waldeck ; and after putting the remainder of the army into winter-quarters in the Upper Palatinate and Bavaria, his highness and marshal Khevenhuller repaired to Vienna, where they were received with the highest honors and marks of distinction.

When the allies were joined by the Dutch forces at Spire, the combined army consisted of sixty six thousand men, exclusive of the four thousand Austrians under colonel Mentzel, and were encamped within fifteen miles of Landau ; in which neighborhood marshal Noailles still continued with his army in the strong lines of Lauterberg. But as the combined army was superior to the French, and were in motion to quit their camp, marshal Noailles precipitately abandoned his posts on the rivers Queich and Lauter, and retired with his army into Alsace ; while the confederates proceeded to Germersheim *; from whence a strong detachment was sent, on the sixth of October, to demolish the French entrenchments on the Queich, which was effected on the seventh without opposition.

It was imagined that the combined army would have penetrated into Alsace, and made an attack upon some of the French garrisons : but as the duke de Boufflers was preparing to defend Landau, the season being so far advanced, the country wasted by the French, and as prince Charles was not able to pass the Rhine ; these reasons induced the confederates to return to their former camp at Spire ; from whence, as the operations of the campaign,

* A town situated on the W. side of the Rhine, 10 miles E. of Landau, opposite to Philippsburg ; and subject to France.

as settled at Hanau, could not be effected, the whole army, on the 11th of October, proceeded to Mentz; and soon after the allies separated to take up their winter-quarters. The English, Austrians, and Hanoverians in British pay, returned to Flanders: the Dutch to Brabant and Guelderland: and the Hessians with the rest of the Hanoverians to their own country.

Upon this, his Britannic majesty and the DUKE of CUMBERLAND, accompanied by lord Carteret and other persons of distinction, returned to Hanover; from whence they soon after set out for Holland.

The king of Sardinia, at the head of forty thousand men, obliged the Spaniards to retire out of Savoy; but the marquis de la Minas was reinforced by the French auxiliaries commanded by the prince of Conti, when their combined forces amounted to fifty six thousand men, with which they made an unsuccessful attempt to force the Piedmontese lines at Chateau Dauphine, and afterwards took up their winter quarters in Savoy.

Prince Lobkowitz succeeded count Traun in the command of the Austrian army in Italy, and arrived at Bologna on the twelfth of September. He marched to Forli; upon which the count de Gages broke up the Spanish camp at Rimini, and retired to Fano, a port town on the Adriatic, where they were in a manner blocked up by the Austrian army on land, and by an English squadron at sea.

The Spaniards were thus obstructed in their Italian expedition, at present: one of their armies was wasting away at the feet of impassable mountains, only to be convinced of the misery of their countrymen, whom they were endeavoring to relieve: the other, yet more unfortunate, had

had been successfully transported, only to see the British fleet, which had permitted their passage, preclude their supplies, and prevent their retreat, by blocking up the conjunct fleet of France and Spain in the harbor of Toulon. And to increase the mortification among the troops commanded by count Gages, they daily found some additional cause of misunderstanding between their general and his serene highness of Modena: while his Sicilian majesty, whose dominions might most commodiously afford them succour, and whom all the ties of nature and interest obliged to give them assistance, was awed by the British ships of war, that lay at anchor before his metropolis, ready to batter his palaces, and destroy his city, upon his commencement of hostilities against the queen of Hungary.

However, the court of Madrid transmitted to that of Versailles, a plan for more vigorously prosecuting the war; in which it was proposed, "That France, Spain and Naples, should enter into a league, offensive and defensive; of which one article should be, not to lay down their arms, until don Philip was established in Italy. That Spain should declare war against the queen of Hungary, and send an army into Tuscany, to which the right was forfeited by the design of conquering Lorrain. That the British squadron should be driven out of the Mediterranean: and that Savoy should be yielded to France*." As the court of Madrid continued to persist in their project, they endeavoured to engage all the confederates of France to assist in the execution of them; for which purpose the emperor received a large remittance from Spain, to encourage him in his alliance, and enable him to sup-

* Here we have the original of the family-compact in 1759.

port an army in the spring that might keep the Austrians from sending new forces into Italy, where, by a reinforcement of Neapolitans, it was proposed to make the Spanish army commanded by count de Gages*, superior to the Austrians under prince Lobkowitz.

In July, his Royal Highness the DUKE of CUMBERLAND was promoted to the rank of a lieutenant-general †: and in October he met his sister the princess Louisa at Hanover, where he espoused her as proxy for the prince royal of Denmark ‡; after which, that amiable princess proceeded to Altena to meet her royal consort, to whom she afforded all the blessings of connubial felicity, especially in their elevated rank.

* This nobleman has been mistaken for the honorable Mr. Joseph Gage, brother of the late lord Gage, and who was reported to be worth a million sterling by the Mississippi scheme, in 1720. It is true, this Mr. Gage was quite impoverished on the fall of the actions in 1724, and followed lady Mary Herbert into Spain, where by her address she obtained a grant of the mines of Porfiro and Guadaicanal in the province of Asturia; which scheme proved abortive, and Mr. Gage returned to Paris, where he married Mrs. Beedle, by whom he had a good fortune. — As to the count de Gages, general of the Spanish forces, he was no relation to lord Gage; but was a Fleming by birth, and of an obscure family: he was major to the Walloon guards in Flanders before they went to Spain, about the time of the battle of Ramillies; after which that regiment was sent to Spain, where major Gage, by his good behaviour, was promoted to the rank of a general officer, was ennobled, and at last had the command of the Spanish army in Italy. This

article is entirely new and well authenticated.

† General Honeywood; with the lieutenant-generals Campbell, Cope and Ligonier, were made knights of the Bath. — The brigadiers Onslow, Fuller, Howard, Bragg, Huske, Ponsonby, and Frampton, were made major-generals; and general Huske had the regiment of Welch fusileers, lately commanded by colonel Peers, who was mortally wounded at Dettingen.

‡ This prince was born 31 March, 1723; and the princess Louisa, youngest daughter of his Britannic majesty, was born December 18, 1724. His royal highness had issue by this princess three daughters and one son; the young prince was named prince Christiern, and was born the 29th of January, 1749. His father became king in 1747; and his mother died in 1751, universally lamented; as also did his father in 1766, after settling a marriage contract between the prince royal and the princess Matilda, niece to the DUKE of CUMBERLAND.

His

His Britannic majesty and the DUKE of CUMBERLAND arrived at Gravesend on the 15th of November; and in the evening passed through the cities of London and Westminster, which were finely illuminated, and arrived at the royal palace of St. James's, where they were joyfully and dutifully received by the royal family and the principal nobility.

The princess of Wales was delivered of a prince on the 14th of November; and he was baptized on the 25th at Leicester-house, by the name of William-Henry, whose sponsors were the prince of Orange, the DUKE of CUMBERLAND, and princess Amelia.

The 22d of that month was appointed to celebrate the birth-day of his majesty: the ball at night was opened by the prince of Wales and the princess Amelia; after which the DUKE of CUMBERLAND danced several minuets and country dances, without halting so much in his steps, as the laureat of the day had done in his numbers *.

* "ODE on his majesty's birth-day; by Colley Cibber, Esq. which began thus:

RECITATIVE.

Of fields! of forts! and floods! unknown to fame,
That now demand from Cæsar's arms a name,
Sing, Britons! though uncouth the sound!

A I R I.

Though rough Selingenstadt
The harmony defeat;
Though Klein, Oftein,
The verse confound:
Yet, in the joyful strain,
Aschaffenburg or Dettingen,
Shall charm the ear they seem to wound.—

A I R II.

Behold! in clouds of fire, serene,
The royal hero heads his pow'rs:
Alike to fame, with raptures seen,
His YOUNGER HOPE, the EAGLET, soars,

The

The lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London presented * an address to his majesty, on his happy return to these kingdoms, on the birth of another prince, and on the happy marriage of the princess Louisa

Fortune, to grace her fav'rite son,
Stamps on his bleeding form renown;
Conscious, to make his fame complete,
The stream would prove Plantagenet.

RECITATIVE.

Thus has the crimson honor, and the scar,
Outshone the azure and the radiant star.

A I R III.

Now should our Caesar's natal night
Demand him to adorn the ball,
Not less his movement would delight,
Though short of former charms it fall.
The halting measure now would rise
With warmer pleasure to our eyes:
Now would he move with nobler mien,
And grace the day with DETTINGEN."—

The long ode performed at Dublin-castle, October 30, before the duke of Devonshire, was still inferior to that of Cibber's: but, after describing the defeat of the French at Dettingen, it had the following lines:

A I R.

"Ye sons of liberty, declare,
Who saw the dreadful scene!
How glorious was your monarch there!
How dauntless, how serene!
Great and intrepid, as at Audenard,
No streights perplex'd him, and no danger fear'd.

RECITATIVE.

Nor less the royal youth our admiration draws,
Who, worthy such a fire!
Fought fearless in his country's cause,
With all his father's fire!
Whose bleeding wound shall stream through future days,
And flow for ever in the muse's lays!"

My friend, Mr. Lockman, also wrote and published "Verses to the DUKE of CUMBERLAND on his being wounded!" And the famous Dutch patriot Van Haaren addressed an elegant poem "To his Britannic majesty on his victory

at Dettingen." Other poems were published on the same occasion, particularly an ode, intitled "Albion's triumph," the fourteenth verse of which contained a pretty compliment to the DUKE of CUMBERLAND.

* On the 19th

with

with the prince royal of Denmark. They told his majesty, that they most humbly approached his throne with hearts full of the sincerest wishes for the honor and prosperity of his sacred person and government, and offered their most hearty congratulations upon his safe return to his British dominions: they expressed their joy upon the birth of a prince, as an auspicious omen and farther pledge of their future happiness, by the increase of the royal progeny, to defend their religion, laws, and liberties, and protect their trade and commerce; always confiding, that a race of princes descended from his majesty, would be ever mindful to preserve these blessings to their latest posterity. They congratulated his majesty upon the marriage of his royal daughter the princess Louisa to the prince royal of Denmark; by which alliance they had reason to hope that the protestant interest in Europe would be more firmly united: and they concluded as follows: "We shall ever think it our indispensable duty to pray, that the hearts and affections of your loyal subjects may be the just and grateful reward of your paternal care and protection; that your majesty's reign may be long and glorious over a free, dutiful, and united people; and that the sceptre of these realms may always remain in your royal family."

The Bristol address also congratulated his majesty on his return to his British dominions, after the dangers and fatigues of a glorious campaign; to which they added as follows: "Your majesty's zeal for the liberties of Europe demands the utmost returns of duty from every subject of Great Britain, who feels in himself a just concern for the rights of his native country: we cannot therefore conceal, though we want words fully to express, the satisfaction
which

which warms our hearts, when we reflect on the success which has attended the arms of your majesty and your allies, in support of a just and equitable balance of power. But permit us, sir, in a more particular manner, and with all the sentiments of duty, gratitude, and veneration, to congratulate your majesty on your ever-memorable victory at Dettingen, where your majesty, with consummate wisdom commanded, and by your great example animated, the force of confederate nations in the cause of Europe."

C H A P. V.

Meeting of the BRITISH Parliament: Debates on keeping the HANOVERIAN Troops in BRITISH Pay. The Attempts of FRANCE to make an Invasion upon GREAT BRITAIN in favor of the PRETENDER: Those Attempts disappointed. Parliamentary proceedings thereon.

HIS Britannic majesty having received addresses from the principal cities and corporate towns, congratulating him on the success of his arms at Dettingen; and finding all his subjects desirous of prosecuting the war for assisting the queen of Hungary; on the 1st of December 1743, he opened the third session of parliament, with a speech from the throne, wherein he acquainted both houses, "That he had, pursuant to their advice, and in consequence of their support, exerted his endeavors for the preservation of the house of Austria, and the maintenance of the balance and liberties of Europe: and that it had pleased God to give success to his arms, in conjunction with those of the queen of

K

Hungary,

Hungary, and as her auxiliaries *." He declared, his views were to see the public tranquillity re-established, and a general and honourable peace obtained; therefore, his majesty desired them to enable him to concert and carry on such measures proper for that purpose; assuring them, that nothing could divert him from pursuing their true and lasting interest.

Both houses presented loyal, dutiful, and affectionate addresses † on this occasion; and these addresses were passed with an immaterial contention: but the spirit of opposition was so far from being entirely dormant, that it soon after burst out with the utmost vehemence.

As a prelude to what the ministry were to expect, lord Gower resigned the office of keeper of the privy-seal, which was conferred on the earl of Cholmondeley: the duke of Marlborough also withdrew his attendance as a lord of the bedchamber to his majesty, and the earl of Waldegrave, lately ambassador at the court of France, was appointed in his room. About the same time, several gentlemen of the ministerial party were appointed to some of the most honorable employments ‡;

* His majesty also acquainted them, that the French had evacuated Germany; that the Dutch troops had joined his forces; and that a definitive treaty was concluded between him, the queen of Hungary, and the king of Sardinia.

† The address from the lords imported "That the anxious concern which filled the breasts of all his faithful subjects, upon the dangers to which his sacred person had been exposed, redoubled their joy, on his safe and happy return into the kingdom: That their first thanks were due to almighty God for the preservation of his invaluable life; their next to his majesty,

to whose magnanimity and unwearied labors for the good of the public cause, they stood so highly indebted; on which occasion, they desired permission to offer their sincere congratulations to his majesty on the success of his arms in the support of the house of Austria, and in defence of the liberties of Europe."—The commons assured his majesty, "they would grant him such effectual supplies as should be requisite for the honor and security of the nation."

‡ Mr. Sandys, lately created baron of Ombersley, was made conferrer to his majesty; and was succeeded as chancellor and under

and

treasur
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* By
7th of
† On
the earl

and general Wade was promoted to the rank of a field-marshal, as it was intended he should command the allied army in Flanders in the ensuing campaign, in the room of marshal Stair.

A motion was made * in the house of commons, for an amendment to the land-tax bill, "by laying a duty of eight shillings in the pound, on all places and pensions:" but when the question was put, it passed in the negative by a majority of forty-two.

Though the ministerial party succeeded in defeating the first motion of their opponents, the country party meditated a more violent attack. In the former session, they had been disappointed in a motion, for addressing his majesty to dismiss the sixteen thousand Hanoverians taken into British pay; but they were now determined to renew the attempt. Accordingly a motion was made † in the house of lords, "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to give orders, that the sixteen thousand Hanoverians, then in the pay of Great Britain, be no longer continued in the service of the nation, after the 25th of that instant December; thereby to put a stop to the jealousies and heart-burnings among his majesty's faithful subjects at home, and his British forces abroad." The motion was introduced with heavy invectives against the disobe-

treasurer of the exchequer by Mr. Henry Pelham: Mr. Winington was made paymaster of the forces: the earl of Middlesex and Mr. Fox were made lords of the treasury; and Sir John Rastoun treasurer of the navy.

* By Henry Archer, Esq. on the 7th of December.

† On the 9th of December, by the earl of Sandwich.—The motion

was seconded, in turn, by the earl of Halifax, lord Talbot, the duke of Bedford, the earl of Chesterfield, the earl of Litchfield, and some others. It was opposed by lord Carteret, the earl of Chomondelley, the earl of Winchelsea, lord Bathurst, the lord chancellor Hardwicke, lord Morton, and the marquiss of Tweeddale.

dience and insolence of the Hanoverian troops towards the British general, and the national forces under his command. But, after a long debate, agitated with many warm and violent expressions, on the question being put, the motion was rejected by a majority of twenty-five. There were 107 lords present at the debate, of whom 36 were for the address, and 71 against it; which occasioned a protest signed by several lords*, who declared, they did it, to prove themselves Englishmen.

A motion was also made in the house of commons for discontinuing the Hanoverian troops: but after a debate, prosecuted with great spirit and acrimony, it was carried in the negative, on a division, by 231 to 181.

Another motion was also made † in the house of Common, "To address his majesty, that he would not engage the British nation any further in the war on the continent, without the concurrence of the States-General, on certain stipulated proportions of force and expence, as in the late war." This, after a strenuous debate, also passed in the negative, by 209 to 132.

The limited time for which the Hanoverian troops were hired was now elapsed, and another contract was made for the continuance of sixteen thousand two hundred and sixty-eight of these troops for another year; which occasioned a fresh debate in the house of Lords, on the 27th of January 1744, when the earl of Sandwich moved the house, "That an humble address be

* The dukes of Marlborough, Bedford, Beaufort and Bridgwater; the earls of Chesterfield, Westmoreland, Northampton, Stanhope, Rockingham, Coventry, Huntingdon, Abingdon, Denbigh, Sandwich, Ailesbury, Shaftesbury, Litchfield, and Thanet; viscount Here-

ford; the lords Haverham, Gower, Mansel, Talbot, Foley and Masham.

† By Mr. Grenville, on the 15th: and it was seconded by Mr. Lyttelton. — A motion was made "For bringing in a bill to make parliaments annual," which was rejected, though only by a majority of 32.

presented

presented to his majesty, earnestly intreating him, that, in consideration of the jealousies and discontent of his faithful subjects at home, and his British troops abroad, he would be graciously pleased to give orders, that the sixteen thousand Hanoverians be no longer continued in the pay of Great Britain; being prejudicial to the public service, inconsistent with the true interest of his majesty, and dangerous to the tranquillity and welfare of the nation *." This motion was contrary to the standing rules of the house; as the question had been already decided this session. However, the earl of Sandwich renewed his motion, on the 31st, in these terms, "That the continuing sixteen thousand Hanoverians in British pay, was prejudicial to the true interest of his majesty, useless to the common cause, and dangerous to the welfare and tranquillity of the nation." The question was again carried in the negative, by a majority of eighty-six against forty-one; which occasioned a new protest, by the same lords who had signed the former, with the addition of some others †; wherein several strong allegations were laid against the Hanoverians.

When it was originally debated in the house of lords, whether the Hanoverian troops should be taken into British pay, those who opposed it alledged, that they were not to be employed; and that they were intended only to receive pay, but not to march against the enemy; therefore they ought not to be received, because they were to

* This occasioned a long debate in which the principal speakers for the motion were, the dukes of Bedford and Montrose; the earls of Chesterfield and Halifax; viscount Londale; the lords Gower, Talbot and Hervey. Those who op-

posed the motion were, the dukes of Newcastle and Argyle; the earls of Cholmondeley and Bath; the lords Carteret, Delawar and Ilchester.

† The duke of Ancaffer; the earls of Stafford, Halifax and Orreary; the lords Montjoy and Hervey.

be at once useless and expensive. This argument was now at an end; for it was proved they were intended to act; and it was evident, from the lists of the slain and wounded at Dettingen, that the Hanoverians had been exposed to the same dangers with the other forces, and those who had survived their wounds had reason to complain, if they were denied any part of the victory, when they bore about them manifest proofs of having partaken the hazard of the battle. Therefore those who formerly voted or protested against the reception of those troops, had now seen that their strongest argument was entirely refuted by plain and indubitable facts.

The principal accusation was now reduced to an assertion, that the jealousies and disputes between the British and Hanoverian forces, made it impossible for them to act in conformity against the common enemy.

The DUKE of CUMBERLAND, who had particularly attended to the conduct of the Hanoverians in the field, was of a very different opinion: his Royal Highness was so far from being convinced of the impracticability of an union, that he was persuaded all those animosities which had been agitated between the British and Hanoverian troops would subside, and that another campaign would produce a reconciliation. For part of the jealousy which naturally arises between strangers, would be dispersed by that familiarity which the continuance of their conjunction must gradually improve: and part might be extinguished by an impartial and prudent accommodation of those claims, whatever they were, which had been asserted with so much vehemence on both sides, that perhaps neither could then boast of being entirely in the right.

Why

Why the Hanoverian troops should be so generally traduced, could be owing to nothing but the old spirit of opposition: for the British nation could not discharge these troops from their pay, unless an equal number could be hired from some other power: and in this wide conflagration of the continent, no prince could be found who would weaken his own dominions by hiring out his troops; nor could any others, were they to be obtained, be trusted with equal safety. The Hanoverians were united to the British nation by ties which did not subsist with regard to other people: they had the same prince, and therefore could not desert them. But from any other troops, which the British government might obtain by treaty, they could only hope that they would serve them until better pay, a change of interest, or a gust of caprice, should separate them from their confederacy. The age afforded too many examples of the infraction of treaties, in which the most sacred stipulations were broke, not only without justice, but without decency: they could therefore place little confidence in forces whose service was not secured by something more coercive than the solemnity of treaties, or even of oaths. An address for the dismissal of the Hanoverian troops was thought unseasonable and unjust on several accounts; especially as it seemed to imply some distrust of his majesty, at a time, when he had not only added to the army six thousand electoral troops at his own expence; but had hazarded his sacred person, with that of his HEROIC SON, in battle against the inveterate enemy of Great Britain,

The amount of the national debt, on the 31st of December 1743, was 51,040,347 l. of which 2,125,300 l. had been contracted since the 31st of December 1742;

and was an increase of six millions since the commencement of the Spanish war. The house of commons voted forty thousand seamen for the service of the year 1744; as also twenty-one thousand three hundred and fifty eight British forces to serve in Flanders; nineteen thousand and twenty-eight land forces, including one thousand eight hundred and fifteen invalids, for guards and garrisons; and eleven thousand five hundred and fifty marines; in all fifty-one thousand nine hundred and thirty-six men. The grants from the committee of supply amounted to 6,283,537 l. to answer which the committee of ways and means provided 6,586,000 l. so that there was a surplus of 302,463 l.

While the British parliament were contesting the most expedient method of prosecuting the war, and gratifying the nation, they were alarmed by a more dangerous enemy than the spirit of ministerial opposition; when all acrimony subsided, all parties were temporarily reconciled, and nothing but unanimity was predominant in the breast of every man who was desirous of preserving his country from invasion and slavery. The court of Versailles had collected a potent squadron at Brest; they also assembled an army in the neighborhood of Calais and Dunkirk; and provided a great quantity of warlike stores. All these preparations were made for an invasion against Great Britain in favor of the pretender to that crown, whom they had solemnly agreed to abandon to his own fortune*.

* The fifth article of the treaty of quadruple alliance, concluded at London the 2d of April, 1718, contained "the guaranty of the succession to the kingdom of Great-Britain in the house of his reigning

Britannic majesty; and provided every thing that could relate to the person who took upon himself the title of king of Great Britain, and to his descendants of both sexes."

Cardinal Tencin, who succeeded the late cardinal de Fleury in the cabinet of Versailles, was indebted for the sacerdotal purple to the recommendation of the chevalier de St. George *, the pretender to the British crown: and the cardinal in return for that obligation, immediately on his admission into the ministry, projected a scheme in favor of his pretensions; which also contributed to the gratification of the ambitious principles of France. The cardinal was even so intent on such an expedition, as to occasion a report, that he had procured a secret convention, for the purpose, to be signed between the pretender, France and Spain; wherein it was stipulated, that France, should supply the son of the pretender with a body of twenty-five thousand troops to invade England; and, in case of success, should maintain thirty-thousand men, and Spain ten thousand, in Great Britain, to support him in possession.

The young † adventurer, afterwards more eminently distinguished by promoting the rebellion in Scotland, had received the most extraordinary encouragement to repair into the dominions of France, and embark in so important

* King James II. married his second wife Mary d'Este, daughter of Alphonso, duke of Modena, on the 1st of December, 1673; by whom he had issue James-Francis-Edward, born 21 June, 1681, who married Maria-Clementina-Sobieski daughter of James Sobieski, the son of John Sobieski king of Poland: by her he had Charles-Edward and Henry-Benedict. — In 1692, the French made a formidable attempt to restore the abdicated monarch James II. but that enterprize was defeated by the vigilance and bravery of admiral Russel, who engaged and destroyed the French fleet on

the coast of Normandy. When the royal fugitive died, the French recognized his son as king, and sent him with a small fleet to take possession of his pretended hereditary dominions in 1708, when they thought such an enterprize most likely to succeed; because the inhabitants of Scotland, where he intended to land, were disgusted at the union: but Sir George Byng protected the coast with his squadron, and obliged the pretender to return to France for security.

† Charles Edward, born December 31, 1720.

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an enterprize. Accordingly, on the 29th of December, he left Rome in a private manner, and arrived at Paris on the 30th of January, when he had a private audience of the king; after which he as privately set out for Brest, Dunkirk and Calais, to proceed on the expedition.

The French ministry preserved the utmost secrecy on this important design: they assembled fifteen thousand troops at Dunkirk, Calais, and Boulogne, under the command of count Saxe; they also collected a great number of transports on this occasion at those ports; and the Brest squadron was ordered to come round the channel to take these transports under their convoy.

The Brest squadron consisted of fourteen ships of the line, and two frigates, commanded by M. de Roquefeuille, who sailed from thence on the twenty-sixth of January, with instructions to prevent the junction of the British squadrons at Portsmouth and Chatham, and even to attack the former if he could do it advantageously*. He was joined by five other men of war from Rochefort, and entered the British channel on the 3d of February, on which day an express was sent from Plymouth to London that this squadron was at sea. Sir John Norris arrived at Spithead on the 6th, and sailed from thence with nineteen ships of the line and ten frigates; with an intention to delude the French by getting to the Downs, and joining the ships from Chatham, which he happily accomplished.

The French admiral came a-breast off the isle of Wight on the 17th, and imagining that Sir John Norris

* It was at first generally apprehended, that this squadron would have endeavored to complete a junction with the combined squa-

drons of France and Spain, then blocked up by admiral Matthews in the harbor of Toulon.

was retired into Portsmouth harbour, he dispatched commodore Bareil with five men of war to Dunkirk, to hasten the arrival of the transports with the troops on board; while the rest of the squadron continued three days off the isle of Wight, where they had terrible weather, which obliged them to anchor at Dungeness on the twenty-second. The next day, Sir John Norris with his squadron tided it round the South-foreland, and anchored about two leagues from the French, who were in a most dangerous situation, blocked up in a bay by a superior force: but they owed their preservation to a violent storm, which drove both squadrons out to sea; and the French, favored by a thick fog, returned in a very disorderly manner to Brest: upon which, Sir John Norris detached part of his squadron under Sir Charles Hardy to Portsmouth, and returned with the rest to his station in the Downs.

When the British ministry received information that the Pretender's eldest son was arrived in France, orders were sent to Mr. Thompson, the British resident at Paris, to remonstrate against those unjustifiable proceedings*: but the French ministry disregarded all applica-

* Mr. Thompson, on the 7th of February, told M. Amelot, the minister for foreign affairs, "That his Britannic majesty, considering the engagement his most Christian majesty was under by treaties, with regard to the pretender and his descendants, had commanded his resident to acquaint him with the information that the king had received of the pretender's eldest son being arrived in France; and that his Britannic majesty did not doubt, if these accounts were founded on truth, his most Christian majesty

would, pursuant to the treaties, give effectual orders, that the said person might be forthwith obliged to quit the French dominions, if he should be still there; and that he might not be countenanced or protected by any of his most Christian majesty's officers or subjects." The French minister made no answer 'till the 14th, when he told the British resident, "That engagements entered into by treaties were not binding, any further than those treaties were religiously observed by the contracting parties on all sides;" and intimated,

tions of that kind ; and the master of the British packet-boat was detained at Calais till his vessel was searched for the dispatches from the resident.

The preparations in France for an invasion were now so well known in England, that all the necessary preparations were made to oppose it. On the fifteenth of February, his majesty sent a message to both houses of parliament, acquainting them, " That having received undoubted intelligence, that the eldest son of the Pretender to his crown was arrived in France, and that preparations were making there to invade the British nation in concert with disaffected persons in England, and that such invasion was to be supported by the French squadron which had been cruizing in the British channel : His majesty thought proper to acquaint his parliament with an intelligence of such high importance to his crown, and to the peace and security of his kingdoms." Both houses joined in one address, representing, " That loyalty, duty, and affection to his majesty ; concern for themselves and posterity ; every interest, and every motive that could warm or engage the hearts of Britons and Protestants, called upon them, on this important occasion, to exert their utmost endeavours, that, by the blessing of God, his enemies might be put to confusion *."

that the court of London had caused infractions of those very treaties to be made.

* Among other assurances of their zeal, they " begged leave to declare to his majesty, and to the whole world, that it was the fixed resolution and purpose of their hearts, at the hazards of their lives and for-

tunes, to support and defend his majesty, and his undoubted right and title to the crown of the British realms, and the protestant succession in his royal house, in opposition to, and defiance of the pretender and his adherents, and all other his majesty's enemies."

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The city of London also presented an address full of duty and loyalty on the same occasion; which was followed by the city of Westminster, both universities, and the principal cities, towns, and boroughs throughout the whole kingdom. The most eminent merchants of London, to the number of 520, signed and presented an address, declaring their unshaken resolution to lend their utmost endeavors for the support of public credit, and to hazard their lives and fortunes in defence of his majesty's sacred person and government, and for the security of the protestant succession in his royal family. The clergy of the province of Canterbury, in convocation assembled, presented an address animated by that just indignation they felt on the efforts made by France in favor of a popish pretender, solemnly renounced and abjured by the British nation. The dissenting ministers, in and about London, presented a loyal and dutiful address: the people called quakers did the same; and the whole nation expressed the strongest assurances of fidelity to his majesty, and the utmost abhorrence of this wicked and daring attempt, to subvert their religion, and destroy their liberty, by reducing a free and glorious nation to the mean and abject condition of a tributary province to France.

On this occasion, his majesty made several promotions among his military officers: the earl of Stair, who had made a voluntary offer of his service on this exigency, was appointed commander in chief of his majesty's forces in South Britain; and Sir John Cope was made commander in chief in Scotland. Alexander Irwin, Richard St. George, and John Campbell esqrs. were made major-generals; the earl of Crauford, George Churchill,

Henry

Henry Skelton, John Johnson, Richard Ingoldsby, Edward Wolfe, Anthony Lowther, and John Wynyard esqs. were promoted to the rank of brigadier-generals.

The duke of Marlborough also waited on, and offered his service to his majesty. Several others of the best nobility and opulent gentlemen followed this example, offering to raise regiments either of horse or foot; which offers were graciously accepted by his majesty, who thought it then improper to put any of his loyal subjects to so great an expence; because orders had been sent for the return of six thousand British troops from Flanders, in case of an actual invasion; and six thousand Dutch were also expected on the first requisition. However, the duke of Montague was permitted to raise a complete regiment of 500 horse, which was immediately done in Northamptonshire.

An army was intended to be formed under the command of marshal Stair, who had four lieutenant-generals, four major-generals, and seven brigadiers, to serve under his direction. And these were to be joined by his Royal Highness the DUKE of CUMBERLAND.

However, the secret poison of Jacobitism was not wholly expelled; and the ministry had intelligence of a secret conspiracy in England. This made the danger more alarming; the habeas corpus act was suspended for six months; and several persons * were taken into custody,

* Among whom were the earl of Barrymore, a member of the house of commons, who was confined in his own house; colonel Cecil who had been equerry to king Geo. I. and was committed to the Tower; Mr. Thomas Carte, formerly chaplain to the duke of Ormond, and

author of that voluminous history of England so justly exploded for its superstitious and jacobitical contents. Indeed, the earl of Barrymore, on his examination said, "it was well known he had an estate of 10,000l. a year; and declared, so far from hazarding it for the sake of a person

on suspicion of carrying on treasonable correspondencies abroad : but they were afterwards admitted to bail, and discharged when all fears of an invasion were over. The suspicion of such a conspiracy excited the ministry to take the greatest precautions for the security of the government, by issuing proclamations to put the laws in execution against papists and nonjurors, as also against riots and rioters.

His majesty had the satisfaction to conceive that his parliament and people were consolidated into one body, and moved uniformly together, with a determination to sacrifice all narrow views, and petty considerations, to the great and patriotic scheme of general felicity.

However, the ministry directed their views for obtaining the assistance of the States-General, pursuant to the common interests and solemn engagements so often renewed between their High Mightinesses and his Britannic Majesty. By virtue of the perpetual defensive league between England and Holland, signed the 3d of March 1678, and conformably to the intent of the guaranty and reciprocal succors finally determined between the two powers on the 3d of April, 1716 ; the whole renewed and confirmed in 1728 ; the Dutch were obliged to furnish, as auxiliaries to the British nation, a succor of six thousand troops and twenty ships of war, to be employed in the service of that crown whenever demanded. To solicit this succor of 6000 men, general Wentworth was sent to Holland, with instructions for Mr. Trevor, the British envoy at the Hague ; upon whose first requisition their High Mightinesses immediately

who had not the least probability of ascending the throne, that he would not endanger the forfeiture of so considerable an estate for the service of any prince in Europe."

complied

complied with it, and ordered six battalions to be in readiness for transportation into England. They also declared to the British minister, that they would be ready and willing to give his majesty all the assistance which their common interests required, to the utmost of their power.

While the British government were so prudentially preparing to repel the danger that impended over it, the French were expeditiously providing every thing for the intended invasion: a general embargo was laid on the shipping on the French coast, and all communication was entirely prevented on their side. Commodore Bareil arrived at Dunkirk with the five men of war under his command, and the troops were daily embarking on board the transports; though the reluctance of the soldiers to go on board was so great, that it was found necessary to execute one of them upon the strand, to strike a terror into the rest. Above seven thousand of these troops were actually put on board at Dunkirk, with great quantities of arms and military stores: but the same storm that chiefly contributed to the preservation of the squadron under M. de Roquefeuille, occasioned the destruction of several transports at Dunkirk; some of them were lost at sea, others drove on shore, and many rendered incapable of service: by which, and the loss of a considerable number of soldiers, this openly daring and formidable project was entirely disconcerted. The troops returned to Calais; the French generals repaired to Paris; and the young adventurer, the present dupe of the court of Versailles, was obliged to reserve his military genius for a more favorable opportunity.

About

About the same time, admiral Matthews defeated the combined fleets of France and Spain off Toulon*; upon which, the French court resolved to come to an open rupture with that of London, where it was readily presaged. Accordingly the British resident at Paris was sent for by the French minister to Versailles, where he was told, in the name of the French king, that as things were come to such a pass, a declaration of war must ensue on their part: Mr. Thomson, answered, that the British nation was prepared to take the proper measures; and war was declared on both sides in the month of March.

As the French king had obliged his Britannic majesty to this declaration of war, the British subjects were unanimously inclined to assist their sovereign to the utmost of their abilities. Some regiments were landed from Ireland; and six regiments were ordered to be raised, with all expedition, to replace the troops that were to embark for Flanders. The six thousand Dutch auxiliaries were landed at Gravesend, under the command of lieutenant-general Smitsaert: but as all apprehensions of an invasion were over, those auxiliaries were embarked for Ostend; and the additional troops were also ordered to Flanders.

* The French had been intently employed in augmenting their fleet, and a Spanish squadron had been for two years blocked up in Toulon by the British admiral: but the French took the Spaniards under their protection, and the combined fleet sailed out of Toulon, with a view of escaping or fighting, so that they might assist his Sicilian majesty. Admiral Matthews met, engaged, and defeated the combined fleet on the 12th of February. He fought bravely himself, but was not assisted by vice-admiral Leake, though rear-admiral Row-

ley shewed him a noble example. M. de Court, the French admiral, shewed himself an excellent commander, as well as admiral Matthews: but their merit was far from being rewarded. The French admiral was disgraced for saving the Spaniards; and the British admiral was broke for fighting them! but M. Voltaire observes, that "both these commanders justified the conduct of each other; and that if it was cruel to be accused by the very friends for whom they fought, it was glorious to be acquitted by the enemy."

The British parliament nobly expressed their approbation of the war against France: The lords assured his majesty, "That if Great Britain could be wanting to him in such a cause, it must be wanting to itself: that he might therefore firmly rely on the utmost efforts of his people to make good the solemn assurances which they had so dutifully and affectionately given him, and effectually to stand by and assist his majesty in prosecuting the war against France with the greatest vigor." The commons also gave their assurances, "That, in the prosecution of this unavoidable war, whatever farther expences should be found necessary for the support of the honor of the crown and security of the nation, his majesty might depend upon the most ready and effectual assistance; such as they thought became a free and grateful people, in defence of their liberties."

A Bill was brought into the house of Commons *, for "Making it high-treason to hold correspondence with the sons of the Pretender;" which was sent up to the house of Lords, who returned it with two additional clauses, that occasioned great debates in both houses: however, on the twelfth of May, his majesty went to the house of Lords, and gave his royal assent to the bill, intitled, "An act to make it high-treason to hold correspondence with the sons of the pretender to his majesty's crown; and for attainting them of high-treason in case they should land, or attempt to land, in Great Britain,

* By lord Strange, lord Guernsey, Alexander Hume Campbell, Norborne Berkley, and William Pitt, Esqrs. who strenuously opposed the amendment among the commons;

as had been done among the lords by the duke of Bedford, the earl of Chesterfield, lord Talbot, and lord Hervey.

or any of the dominions thereunto belonging: and for suspending the operation and effect of a clause in the act of the seventh of the late queen Anne, for improving the union of the two kingdoms, relating to forfeitures for high-treason, until after the decease of the sons of the said Pretender:" after which, his majesty put an end to the session, by a speech to both houses; importing, that "the great preparations made by France on the side of the Austrian Netherlands, must convince all Europe of the ambitious and destructive views of that crown in beginning the present war: but it should be his care, in conjunction with his allies, to pursue the most proper measures to disappoint them, and to prosecute the war in such a manner as might be most effectual for securing a safe and honorable peace."

The DUKE of CUMBERLAND, upon this occasion, attended his majesty to the house, and received the congratulations of many of the lords upon such a glorious opportunity of revenging himself against the enemy. His highness smiled, and said "he hoped all would be in good time."

C H A P. VI.

WAR declared between the FRENCH King and the King of GREAT BRITAIN; as also between the FRENCH King and the Queen of HUNGARY. The Campaign between the FRENCH and ALLIES in FLANDERS in 1744; with a concise account of the NETHERLANDS: The FRENCH take several places there; but are stopped in their conquests: The end of the CAMPAIGN; whereby the chief Command was transferred to the DUKE of CUMBERLAND in 1745.

THE French king published his declaration of war against the king of Great Britain on the twentieth of March 1744 *, alledging. “ That upon the breaking out of the troubles in Germany, he took all opportunities of shewing he desired nothing more earnestly than to see them speedily concluded by an equitable accommodation between the parties at war. — That the KING of ENGLAND, ELECTOR of HANOVER, had very opposite intentions, which aimed at kindling a general war. — That the convention of Hanover, in October 1741, was declared at London to subsist no longer. That the king of England being himself a personal enemy of France, he seemed to have no other views than to raise up such every where against her. That the piracies of the English men of war increased with cruelty and barbarity; and the English at length dared to block up the port of Toulon. — That therefore he declared war against the KING of ENGLAND, ELECTOR of HANOVER, both by sea and land.”

In answer to this his Britannic majesty published a declaration of war against France on the thirty-first of the

* It was signed at Versailles on the 15th.

same month*, declaring, " That the troubles which broke out in Germany had been begun and carried on by the instigation and support of the FRENCH KING, with a view to over-turn the balance of power in Europe, and to extend the dangerous influence of that crown, in direct violation of the solemn guaranty of the pragmatic sanction given by him in 1738, in consideration of the cession of Lorrain : And his majesty having on his part executed his engagements for maintaining the pragmatic sanction with that good faith which was inseparable from him ; and having opposed the attempts made against the dominions of the queen of Hungary, he was not surpris'd that his conduct in that respect should have drawn upon him the resentment of the FRENCH KING, who had found his ambitious views, in a great measure, disappointed by the assistance his majesty had furnished to his ally, unjustly attacked by the FRENCH KING ; or that the FRENCH KING should alledge it as a principal reason for declaring war against him. That the French had assisted the Spaniards, instead of observing a strict neutrality, both in Europe and America. That these unwarrantable proceedings : the notorious breach of treaties, by repairing the fortifications, and erecting new works at Dunkirk : the open hostilities lately committed against the British fleet in the Mediterranean, the affront and indignity offered to his majesty by the reception of the son of the pretender to his crown in the French dominions ; the embarkation actually made at Dunkirk of a considerable body of troops, notoriously designed for an invasion of the British kingdom in favor of the pretender ; and the sending a squadron of French ships of war into the channel to support that em-

* It was signed on the 29th.

barkation and invasion, would be lasting monuments of the regard had by the French court for the most solemn engagements, when the observance of them was inconsistent with interest, ambition, or resentment. That his majesty could not omit taking notice of the unjust insinuations contained in the FRENCH KING's declaration of war against him with respect to the convention made at Hanover *. That the charge of piracy, cruelty, and barbarity against the British ships of war, was equally unjust and unbecoming; for his majesty had all such proceedings in abhorrence, and would have punished such offenders in the severest manner."

Such was the substance of both declarations of war, which were soon followed by others between the courts of Versailles and Vienna.

On the return of prince Charles of Lorrain to Vienna from the last campaign, in which he had unsuccessfully attempted the passage of the Rhine, he was most affectionately received by her Hungarian majesty; who, in return for his faithful and important services, offered him a reward equal to his merit and valor, by proposing a marriage between him and her sister the archduchess Mary-Anne; a princess the ornament of her illustrious family. She was born in 1718, and the prince in 1712. Their nuptials were solemnized on the 7th of January; on which occasion, the grand duke as joint-sovereign of the order, created sixteen knights of the golden fleece;

* His majesty particularly observed, "That convention, regarding his electorate only, had no relation to his conduct as king of Great Britain: the allegations concerning it were groundless and injurious:

the proceedings of his majesty, in that respect, having been perfectly consistent with that good faith which his majesty had always made the rule of his actions."

and the queen made a grand promotion of general officers. But in the midst of this festivity, the whole court felt a sudden and violent shock by the death of the truly glorious marshal Khevenhuller; who died on the fifteenth, of an inflammation in his bowels, in the sixtieth year of his age, universally regretted, and particularly so by the DUKE of CUMBERLAND, who was in hopes of being assisted by the advice of so great a general * when he made his next campaign.

Prince Charles was sensibly affected with the misfortune of losing his military tutor, and received a consolatory letter upon that melancholy occasion from the DUKE of CUMBERLAND, who expressed his regret that the situation of affairs in Great Britain prevented him from returning to the continent and co-operating with the prince in the ensuing campaign, which he hoped would be glorious to his Highness: however, the DUKE gave the strongest intimations of his resolution to appear soon again in arms, when he wished to merit the applause of the prince by his actions in the field.

Prince Charles applied himself diligently to improve and augment the Austrian forces; he was determined to effect the passage of the Rhine; and count Traun was recalled from his government of Moravia to assist the

* This nobleman was descended of an illustrious family, being hereditary high-steward of Carinthia. He was not only field-marshal, but governor of Slavonia and Sirmia, governor of Vienna, knight of the Golden Fleece, counsellor of state, and vice-president of the Adlic council of war. He learned, studied, and practised the art of war

under the immortal Eugene, with whom he lived highly caressed, in the most intimate friendship and entire confidence. Like that incomparable hero, he considered the practice of war as a science founded on established maxims, and governed by certain rules; no was his reputation in the cabine inferior to that in the field.

prince in his enterprize. It was suspected that France would now act openly against the queen of Hungary, who neglected nothing to oppose the attempts of such an enemy. The government of the Austrian Netherlands was conferred upon prince Charles and his royal consort, who set out for Brussels on the twenty-fourth of January, and were escorted into that city by the English regiment of horse-guards blue. After the ceremony of inauguration as governors of the Netherlands was over, prince Charles turned his attention to the military affairs in that country, where it was apparent the French intended to make a vigorous invasion. His highness and the duke d'Arenberg consulted with the confederate generals the best measures for opposing the French in Flanders: immediately afterwards the prince concerted the preparatory steps for penetrating into Alsace, and set out for Hailbron, in Suabia, where the Austrian army was assembling from their winter-quarters in Bavaria, the Upper Palatinate, and the Brisgaw, with a powerful reinforcement of recruits.

As the French ministry cemented a potent confederacy between the emperor, the king of Prussia, the elector Palatine, and landgrave of Hesse, they apprehended little danger from the Austrians, and proposed to keep on the defensive in Alsace; while the French monarch was to take the field in person, at the head of a very magnificent army, and direct his principal force against Flanders, where he would have a great superiority over the allies.

When the French monarch was certain of his influence in Germany, he no longer acted as auxiliary to the emperor; but, on the 15th of April, signed a declaration

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claration of war against the queen of Hungary, who also signed a counter-declaration on the 1st of May. Both monarchs recriminated on the conduct of each other since the commencement of hostilities. The king declared, "That when he granted succors to the house of Bavaria, he had no design of making himself a principal in the war: that he might have extended the frontiers of his kingdom: that the behavior of the court of Vienna was carried to such a degree of malice and violence against France, he could no longer desist from discovering his just resentment." The queen answered, "That her moderation had been carried too far in many respects; while France wanted to annihilate the house of Austria; and that she put her confidence in God, who rarely lets pride, breach of faith, and perjury go unpunished*."

The French army, intended for the invasion of Flanders, assembled in the neighborhood of Lille †, where the French monarch arrived on the first of May, attended by marshal Noailles, count Saxe, count Clermont, and many other officers of distinction, with a very splendid and numerous court, among whom were his favorite ladies the duchess of Chateau-Roux, and her sister the duchess of Laurangais. On the fourth, his majesty ‡ reviewed the

* Her majesty declared, That France had not only spirited up Christian courts against the arch-ducal house, but also endeavored to make a rupture between her and the Turks: and that she attempted not only to set Germans against Germans, but likewise all the other powers against one another, that none of them might be able afterwards to refuse obedience to the laws of France.

† L'isle, or Ryssel, a large populous city, capital of the French Netherlands; beautifully built and strongly fortified: it is situated on the river Deule, 25 miles N. of Arras, and 12 miles W. of Tournay.

‡ M. Voltaire says, that "Louis XV. began his campaign in Flanders, at the head of 80,000 fighting men." He was mistaken in his account, by an under-charge of

French army, composed of one hundred and twenty thousand effective men, provided with a train of artillery of the most formidable kind, consisting of one hundred and sixty pieces of battering cannon from twelve to forty-eight pounders, with one hundred field-pieces, and several mortars, forty of which threw bombs, called comminges, of five hundred pounds weight, managed by a large body of skilful engineers. These were advantages which could not be enjoyed by nations hastily united to carry on a temporary war. Establishments of this kind must be the fruit of time, and of the constant attention of a powerful monarchy. A war whose operations consist chiefly in sieges will give the superiority to France: a fatal truth, which England has sufficiently experienced. The manner in which the French artillery is now served was entirely owing to Louis XIV. who instituted academies at Douai, Metz, and Strasburg: but other countries soon found the necessity of following this example; and particularly in England, where it became the favorite study of the DUKE of CUMBERLAND.

Two days after the arrival of the French king at Lille, the confederate army took the field, consisting of twenty-two thousand English, sixteen thousand Hanoverians, and twenty thousand Dutch; in all seventy-six thousand men, if the respective quotas, which were greatly deficient, had been complete. These troops formed an encampment in the neighborhood of Brussels: the English and Hanoverians were commanded by marshal Wade*;

40,000 men: but he more accurately remarks, that the French, "had a numerous artillery, managed by a regiment, consisting of near 5000 men, full of officers, capable of conducting a siege; and

composed of soldiers, most of them very able artists."

* George Wade, Esq. He was chosen member of parliament for Bath in 1734; and he was created a field-marshal in December 1743.

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the Dutch by count Maurice of Nassau; and the Austrians by the duke d'Arenberg: but these generals imagined the confederate forces were too weak to attack the French, and waited for further reinforcements; while the French army over-ran the whole country with an unresisted and surprising rapidity.

There had been few considerable wars in Europe, to which the Netherlands, especially Flanders and Brabant, had not served as the principal seat, for which they seem designed by their situation; and as they were the most considerable theatre on which the future transactions of the war were performed, especially when the DUKE of CUMBERLAND commanded in chief, it may not be improper to give a short description of so remarkable a country.

At the conclusion of the general peace at Utrecht in 1713, the French king was left in possession of the province of Artois, part of Flanders and Hainault, with a small part of Luxemburg. The rest of the ten Catholic provinces, except what was held by the Dutch on the north, was given to the emperor Charles VI. as heir of the house of Austria, and in consequence of their reduction by the arms of the allies. — By the treaty for settling the barrier in the Netherlands, concluded at Antwerp in 1715, between the emperor, the king of Great Britain, and the States-General, his Imperial majesty agreed, that the States-General should have a garrison entirely of their own troops, in the towns and castles of Namur and Tournay; the towns of Menin, Ypres, Furnes, Warneton, and fort Knoque; and that

in

in the town of Dendermond there should be a joint garrison, the governor to be nominated by the emperor *.

Flanders alone contains thirty-five walled or fortified towns, and one hundred and seventeen villages; being about sixty miles long, and fifty broad; divided between the Austrians, French, and Dutch; of which the Austrians had the greatest part, consisting of the following places; Ghent, Bruges, Ostend, Nieuport, Ypres, Tournay, Oudenarde, Courtray, Dendermond, Dixmuyd, and Furnes. The whole province is a perfect level, without any considerable rising ground or hill in it, and watered with many rivers, canals, and streams. — Brabant is the next most considerable province, and the greatest part of it subject to the court of Vienna. The capital is Brussels, which is the seat of government the next in rank Louvain, Antwerp, Mechlin, Tirlemont, and some others of inferior degree. — The bishopric of Liege is an independent sovereignty, subject to it's own prince though surrounded by the Austrian dominions. — And to the queen of Hungary also belonged the duchies of Luxemburg and Limberg, with part of the provinces of Namur and Hainault; in which the towns of Luxemburg, Limberg, Namur, Mons, Charleroy, and Aeth, are the most remarkable. Of the fortified places

* According to this regulation, the Austrian Netherlands were bounded on the north by the Dutch parts of Flanders and Brabant; on the east by Germany; on the south by Lorrain, Champaign, French Hainault, and French Flanders; and by the German ocean on the west. They lie in a sort of triangular form watered by the rivers Scheld, Maese and Lys. This little spot

of territory is very populous; full of towns and villages; and plentifully endowed with all things necessary either for pleasure, profit, or use. — The Dutch always think it their interest to assist in keeping those provinces, as a barrier to their own dominions against France; which is the reason for their being allowed the garrisons abovementioned.

it is sufficient to say, there is no part of Europe, not even Piedmont excepted, where the fortifications are so numerous, and at the same time so strong, as in the Netherlands in general.

The French monarch soon convinced the world, that he did not intend to continue inactive at the head of so formidable an army. Count Saxe, on the 17th of May, seized Courtray *, Harlebeck †, and Warneton ‡, without any resistance. Menin † was invested, on the eighteenth, by forty thousand French: it was garrisoned by sixteen hundred men, commanded by the baron d'Echetren, who obtained an honorable capitulation, and surrendered the place on the fifth of June. Count Clermont ** invested Ypres † with thirty thousand men: the place was garrisoned by two thousand five hundred men, commanded by the prince of Hesse-Philipssthal, who was obliged to surrender it on honorable conditions, after having three hundred men killed or wounded, though the besiegers lost near four thousand. However, they thought this acquisition cheaply purchased, as it brought them into possession of the whole Chatellany, comprehending the towns of

* A town of the Austrian Netherlands, situated on the Lys, 16 miles E. of Ypres.

† An Austrian town on the Lys, 8 miles N. E. of Courtray.

‡ On the Lys, 8 miles N. W. of Lille, and 5 from Ypres.

† On the Lys, 10 miles N. of Lille, 7 S. W. of Courtray, 8 S. E. of Ypres, and 140 N. of Paris. The town was well fortified by the French, who took it in 1667: but it was retaken by the allies in 1706 and ceded to the house of Austria by the treaty of Utrecht. But Louis

XV. in four days took Menin, with the loss of only forty men, which cost the duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene nineteen days, and the loss of four thousand men.

** Louis de Bourbon Conde, a prince of the blood, born 15 June 1709.

† A large town of the Austrian Netherlands, situated on the river Ypre, 12 miles W. of Courtray, 15 S. E. of Nieupoort, 22 S. E. of Dunkirk, 15 N. W. of Lille, and 157 N. of Paris.

Mount-Cassel,

Mount-Cassel, Commines, and others: and when the news arrived at Paris, the most public rejoicings were made on the reduction of a fortress esteemed almost impregnable. In the mean time, the duke of Boufflers, with twenty thousand men, invested fort Knoque, where baron d'Hompesch commanded a Dutch garrison of one thousand men, who surrendered without making any defence: and baron de Schwartzenburg, the Dutch governor of Furnes *, followed the same example.

All those places were a part of the Dutch barrier: but the states-general only temporized and negociated, instead of defending their towns, or acting offensively in the field; which prevented the confederates from making any opposition. While Furnes was invested the French monarch made his public entry into Dunkirk; where he continued for some time, elated with the success of his troops in Flanders, until all his hopes were disappointed by the unexpected intelligence that prince Charles of Lorraine had passed the Rhine, and was penetrating into the provinces of France.

The confederates were incapable of opposing the French until they were joined by some reinforcements on the 2d of June, when they decamped from Brussels, and took possession of a strong post near Oudenarde, behind the Scheld, where they were joined by general Smitslaert with the six thousand Dutch from England; as also by another reinforcement of twelve thousand Dutch under the command of general Ginckel. The allied army should now have consisted of ninety thousand men, if the several contingencies had been fully provided: but as the respective quotas were very deficient, the whole army did not

* In Austrian Flanders, 12 miles E. of Dunkirk, and 16 N.W. of Ypres.
exceed

exceed seventy thousand men; which were sufficient to oppose the French, after the greatest part of their army in Flanders was sent to oppose the Austrians in Alsace. However, the confederates undertook nothing of any consequence, and terminated the campaign in a very dishonorable manner on their side; which was principally owing to the obstinacy of the Dutch, and the dissensions among the confederate generals. An instance that a divided command is seldom attended with success, and which occasioned the whole command to be invested the next campaign in his Royal Highness the DUKE of CUMBERLAND.

The French in Germany were hurt in the former campaign through the over-active heat of youth in the duke of Grammont; and the confederates were now prejudiced by the over-cautious lingering of age in marshal Wade: but this heat of youth and precaution of age were so well-tempered in marshal Saxe, that what Suetonius reports as excellent in Cæsar, was equally applicable to the French general, of whom "it was uncertain whether he was more cautious or daring."

Prince Charles of Lorraine took the command of the Austrian army *, consisting of seventy thousand men, as-

* This army was divided into three lines. The first was led by prince CHARLES, assisted by marshal Traun, baron Berlinger, and count de Hohenembs, generals of horse; the prince of Saxe-Gotha, Birkenfeld, Philibert, and Balanta, lieutenant-generals of horse; and the major-generals Locatelly, Bentheim, Guylany, and Kollockreiter; baron Thungen, general of infantry; the lieutenant-generals Schulemberg, prince of Wolfenbuttle, Grune, and Daun; with the major-generals

Staremburg, Marshal, Pueble, and Balfi. The second line was led by the prince of WALDECK; who had under him the count de Bernes and count Roysing, lieutenant-generals of horse; and the major-generals Bretlock, Forgatsch, Serbelloni, and Spada; the lieutenant-generals of infantry, count Merci, Berenklaui, and Konigsfegg; with the major-generals Roth, Meligni, Dourlach, and Tornaco. The third line was led by general Herberstein, who had under him the lieutenant-generals

sembled near Hailbron in the circle of Suabia. At the head of this fine army, the prince intended to begin the campaign, by passing the Rhine, and penetrating into Alsace; thereby to carry the war into the territories of France, in return for the many devastations they had committed in Germany. The French had also assembled an army of fifty thousand men, under the command of marshal Coigni, to defend the passages of the Rhine: while another army of thirty thousand men was forming on the Moselle under the command of marshal Belleisle: besides, the French were assisted by marshal Seckendorf, at the head of twelve thousand Bavarians, who took possession of the imperial fortress of Philipsburg, though in violation of their late treaty of neutrality.

Prince Charles, nobly assisted by general Berenklaui, count Nadaſti, and count Daun, gloriously effectuated the passage of the Rhine, at Schreck, on the first of July. The consternation of the French and Bavarians was inexpressible; and they retired towards the Upper Rhine with so much precipitation that they abandoned their magazines, which fell into the hands of the Austrians, who also took possession of the town and lines of Lauterberg, on the third, when general Nadaſti obliged the count de Genſac, and his garrison of seventeen thousand men, to surrender upon honorable terms. The same Austrian general also took possession of Weiſſenburg, which he gallantly defended with twelve thousand men, against the marshals Coigni and Seckendorf at the head of forty

Minski, Nadaſti and St. Ignion; with the major-generals prince Esterhaſi, Deſoſſi, Meringer, Smertſing, Betznay, and Trips. The artillery in reſerve was commanded by

general Fevarſtein. Most of these commanders distinguished themselves, and some of them very eminently so, both in this war of 1741, and the following war of 1756.

thousand

thousand men. In this desperate action the French lost about two thousand men, and the Austrians upwards of seven hundred.

Prince Charles was encamped in the lines at Lauterburg; while the French and Bavarian marshals were entrenched in the lines of Haguenau. All Lower-Alsace now felt the severity of the Austrians, who exacted large contributions, to retaliate the injuries committed by the French in the hereditary dominions of her Hungarian majesty: while frequent incursions were made into the Upper-Alsace by the Austrians in the Brisgaw. Prince Charles demolished the lines of Lauterburg, and encamped at Sultz, with an intention to attack the French in their own lines; which marshal Coigni precipitately abandoned, and retired behind the Sor on the twenty-ninth, when the Austrians occupied the town and lines of Haguenau. General Nadaſti took the town of Saverne, situated at the mouth of the narrow passes of Pfaltzburg, which open into the territories of Lorraine. But marshal Coigni retired behind the canon of Strasburg, the capital of Alsace; and was closely followed by prince Charles.

At first, the French monarch would not believe that the Austrians had invaded Alsace; but he was soon convinced of it by expresses from marshal Coigni. The king immediately ordered thirty-six thousand men from his army in Flanders to protect Alsace, where his army was soon augmented to one hundred and sixteen thousand men: yet prince Charles was determined to come to an engagement, when he received intelligence that his Prussian majesty had invaded Bohemia with eighty thousand men; upon which the prince abandoned Alsace, and repassed the Rhine,

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without any considerable loss, to oppose the king of Prussia.

The French king, on the nineteenth of July, set out from Dunkirk for the Rhine; and, on the fourth of August arrived at Metz, where he made a magnificent entry. On the seventh, was complimented by marshal Schmettau, whom the king of Prussia had sent to inform his majesty of his resolution to assist the emperor, by making an immediate irruption into Bohemia, in consequence of their new alliance at Francfort, and conformable to the propositions of the court of Versailles; which had made a private stipulation with his Prussian majesty, to incite him to so desperate an attack on the Austrian dominions, whenever prince Charles should appear too formidable on the Rhine.

The ministry of Versailles had accomplished their schemes in promoting a German confederacy against the queen of Hungary; and, on the eleventh of May, a treaty of alliance and union was concluded at Francfort, between the emperor, the king of Prussia, the elector Palatine*, and the king of Sweden as landgrave of Hesse.

This was an unexpected counterpoise to the treaty of Worms: the king of Prussia was to conquer Bohemia for the emperor, who was to cede a large part of it to the conqueror; and, on both sides, they exhausted every resource of policy and war: but the French monarch was

* Charles Theodore, duke of Newburg, and prince of Sultzbach. He was born in 1724, and succeeded the late elector Charles Philip in the electorate in 1742.

He succeeded also to the duchies of Juliers and Berg, to which the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg laid claim, but suffered him to take possession of them.

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eized with a violent fever, which highly endangered his life *. While the subjects of France thought their monarch was dead at Metz, he received intelligence, that the French and Spaniards had effected the passage of the Alps, which was put in parallel with that of the Rhine by the Austrians. However, the combined armies lost four thousand men by getting into Piedmont, where they took Demont: but were attacked by the king of Sardinia, who obliged them to raise the siege of Conti, and repass the mountains, after losing six thousand men before the town. They left behind them eighteen hundred of their sick and wounded, which the prince of Conti recommended to the humanity of the Piedmontese, in the same manner as the English left their's to the French at Dettingen. The interior part of Italy was going to become a bloody scene in this vast military theatre, which extended from the Danube to the Tyber: Prince Lobkowitz retreated with his army from the frontier of Naples: but he surprized the Spaniards at Velletri, where the same affair happened as at Cremona; for history is no more than a series of events repeated with some variety: the Austrians were at first successful, and then repulsed.

In the mean time, his Prussian majesty had again overrun Bohemia, and took Prague a second time, with a garrison of fifteen thousand men: but fortune changed sides again, as she had often during this war, and prince Charles drove the Prussians out of Bohemia, as he had lately done the French. The war itself had enriched Germany, by bringing there the French and British

* M. Voltaire says, that " his illness was owing to his exposing himself too much, on his march, to the scorching heat of the sun; for the ray that struck him, darted with such violence as to burn his thigh."

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subsidies, and obliging the contending armies to pay for their subsistence. The French monarch reduced Fri-burg *, and demolished it's fortifications: but the elector of Saxony now engaged to assist the queen of Hungary.

The confederate army in Flanders closed the campaign by returning from Lille to their camp in the neighborhood of Ghent, where they continued until the sixteenth of October, when they separated into winter-quarters; the British horse being quartered at Brussels, and the dragoons and infantry at Bruges, Ghent, and Oudenarde; the Dutch, Austrians, and Hanoverians also went to their respective quarters: and count Saxe followed their example, having first abandoned Courtray, where he caused the fortifications to be demolished.

Two extraordinary accidents happened towards the end of this campaign, which alarmed all the European courts. The earl of Holderness was sent as the British ambassador to the republic of Venice, and was stopped on his route in Franconia, on the sixteenth of September, by some imperial troops commanded by the count de St. Germain, who obliged his excellency to give a reversal letter, if he should be deemed a prisoner of war, to submit to that condition; which was disavowed by the emperor, who ordered the reversal to be returned, and the commanding officer submissively to beg pardon of his excellency.

The other accident of a similar nature was attended with more deliberate and important circumstances in the

* The capital of the Brisgaw, 28 miles S. of Strassburg. It was gallantly defended by a garrison of 6000 men, commanded by general Darnitz, who had 4600 men kil-

led and 700 wounded: but the French had 18000 men killed or wounded, before they got possession of this important place.

detention of marshal Belleisle *, who after the surrender of Priburg, was ordered to Munich and Berlin to settle the general operations of the next campaign. The marshal was accompanied by his brother the chevalier Belleisle*, a lieutenant-general in the French service, and eminently possessed of every great and glorious qualification both as the soldier and the statesman. They left Munich on the twenty-ninth of November, and arrived on the second of December, at Hamau, from whence they proceeded through a cross-road to Berlin, without passports, or an escort, as they thought to avoid the Hanoverian territory; in which they were mistaken, and were both seized on the ninth, as prisoners of war, by the Bailiff of Elbingrode †, a village in the forest of Hartz, and subject to the elector of Hanover, though the post-house belongs to his Prussian majesty. The marshal and his brother were immediately sent to Osterode, and confined there until the pleasure of his Britannic majesty was known. The marshal immediately wrote to the Hanoverian ministry, and acknowledged both himself and his brother prisoners of war; but insisted to be set at liberty by virtue of the cartel of Francfort, concluded in 1743, and continued in the succeeding campaign by agreement between marshal Wade and marshal Saxe, who had received their reciprocal instructions for that purpose from their respective courts. The Hanoverian mini-

* The name of this nobleman was Charles-Louis-Augustus Fouquet; and for his services in Bohemia, his imperial majesty had created him a prince of the Roman empire. His titles in France were the duke de Belleisle, marshal of France, knight of the orders of that

kingdom, and of the golden fleece, governor of Metz, of the counties of Metz and Verdun, and of the town of Verdun; lieutenant-general of the dukedom of Lorraine; and commander of the bishoprics of Metz, Toul and Verdun.

† Twenty six miles from Goslar.

stry would not acknowledge his right to the cartel, and justified his capture as an ambassador, by the authorities of the antients, as also of Grotius, Wiquesfort, Bynkershoek, Zouch, Huben, and other moderns.

The capture of such important persons was a favorable circumstance to the interest of the allies : but the princes of the Francfort confederacy were greatly exasperated; especially as a discovery was made, in examining the papers of marshal Belleisle, of a scheme for dispossessing his Britannic majesty of Bremen and Verden, which were transferred in the year 1716, by his Danish majesty to the elector of Hanover; and afterwards confirmed by the Swedes, from whom the Danes had formerly conquered them. This also put the Francfort allies under apprehensions that all their other projects would be discovered, and particularly that against Hanover, wherein it was agreed, to dismember it, to divide the spoils, to deprive it of the electoral dignity, and bestow it on another; so as to contract the dominions of the electoral house, that it should afterwards make an inconsiderable figure in Germany !”

Their Imperial and Prussian majesties made strong solicitations for the releasement of the marshal and his brother; while the French king demanded their liberty in a formal manner of his Britannic majesty*, under the cartel. But the British ministry asserted, that the marshal and his brother were seized as public ministers, and therefore not entitled to the cartel; upon which, his Britannic majesty directed the regency of Hanover to remove the two noble

* Marquis d'Argenson, secretary of state for foreign affairs, wrote a letter to the duke of Newcastle for that purpose: which concluded as follows: “The execution of cartel treaties ought not to be

retarded upon any pretence; and, according to that of Francfort, every prisoner was to be set at liberty a fortnight after his detention, either by exchange or ransom.”

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prisoners to Stade, where they were embarked on board the *Wager* man of war in February, and landed at Harwich; from whence they were conducted to Windsor-castle, where they were treated with all the distinction and regard due to their exalted rank and distinguished merit. The secretaries of state waited on them, and told them his majesty was of opinion they were not intitled to the cartel; yet he was desirous of having them treated as marshal Tallard had been. They accordingly were released from their confinement in Windsor-Castle, and were permitted to reside in the adjacent country, on their parole of honor.

The marshal, on the twenty-fifth of April 1745, addressed a letter to his Britannic majesty, to know his motives concerning the cartel; upon which, the king referred the case to the marshals Stair, Cobham and Wade, who declared their opinion, that the marshal and chevalier Belleisle ought to be considered purely in a military capacity, and were comprehended in the second article of the treaty of Francfort; by which a general of an army, or a marshal of France, were to pay twenty-five thousand German florins, and a lieutenant-general five thousand. But as a great number of the British and Hanoverians troops had lately been made prisoners at the battle of Fontenoy, and were refused to be exchanged until the releasement of marshal Belleisle and his brother; these generals obtained their liberty, on a promise of obtaining the discharge of those prisoners. Accordingly, on the fourteenth of August, the marshal and his brother were honorably conducted to Dover where they embarked for Calais. They punctually performed their engagement, in procuring the discharge of the prisoners; and expressed the most grateful sense of the civilities received during their residence in England.

C H A P.

C H A P VII.

Remarks on the Close of the Campaign in the NETHERLANDS in 1744. General LIGONIER assembles the BRITISH Generals to a Council of War at GHENT: it's resolutions. Another REVOLUTION in the BRITISH Ministry: Parliamentary proceedings. The DUKE of CUMBERLAND appointed CAPTAIN-GENERAL of the BRITISH Forces: other Military Promotions. The Earl of CHESTERFIELD's Embassy to the STATES-GENERAL. The Demise of the Emperor CHARLES VII. on which Occasion his BRITANNIC Majesty goes to HANOVER. Lifts of the FRENCH and AUSTRIAN Armies to serve in 1745. General View of the contending armies throughout EUROPE. The FRENCH army assemble in the NETHERLANDS, under the Command of Marshal SAXE: and the ALLIED Army assemble at BRUSSELS, under the Command of the DUKE of CUMBERLAND, who is appointed COMMANDER in CHIEF of the whole Confederate Troops. Preparations for opening the Campaign of 1745. The Battle of FONTENROY; and it's Consequences.

THE late earl of Craufurd, in his papers relating to the campaign of 1744, made the following remarks*:

The campaign being ignominiously ended, the confederate troops got into their winter-quarters, widely distant from those they ought to have occupied; as if designedly removed from giving the least appearance of suspicion, throughout the winter, to the enemy; though

* These papers are in my custody, in his lordship's own manuscript.

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they had reason to fear the worst of consequences from the formidable army of the allies, until the French could be reinforced in the Low-Countries, where so much might have been done, even at the latter end of the campaign, by the allies, as might have retarded all the early progress of the enemy in the spring; which is generally the thing most to be feared by the enemies of France, who have ever found the greatest difficulties to become soon enough so formidable as to frustrate such dangerous projects which she generally sets out with, on opening her campaigns. This disagreeable termination of the campaign, justly dissatisfied all the true lovers and friends to liberty in Europe.

The consideration of the enemy throughout the winter, or interrupting their progress in the spring, was little regarded by the confederate generals; who, either for their own interest, or for some political reasons from their particular courts, resorted to their own respective winter-quarters.

The duke d'Arenberg repaired to Brussels, charmed he had got out of the danger which he dreaded from the confusion of such a divided command under three chiefs, whose private instructions he apprehended were very different from each other.

Field-marshal Wade returned to London, no less rejoiced he had got out of a command, wherein he seemed to take less delight than any general, since the beginning of time, invested with such a power. He was dissident of all he had any thing to do with, the administration at home not excepted, imagining they intended to lead him into some scrape, for which he might be answerable before the parliament. He allowed those jealousies to torment

torment him to such a degree, that it was thought he chose to give up every spark of ambition to an indolent security, rather than run any risk; supposing it a certain method to please one side or the other of the administration; which he had strong reasons to believe would in that case stand by him, if his conduct happened to be called in question, as in the late instance of admiral Matthews, who was punished even for his bravery.

Count Nassau, when recovered of a severe fit of sickness, repaired to the Hague, in his way to England, being advised by his physicians to go to Bath. He was well pleased with such a pretence to avoid any examination that might be made into the conduct of the campaign, during which he seemed from the beginning to adopt a scheme of inactivity; while Cronstrom and Ginckle pretended to be of Aremburg's faction for fighting, as they were both aspiring at the command. They also repaired to the Hague, and exculpated themselves, while the other generals of the allies, both at London, and in their respective quarters, held a language very different.

On the departure of marshal Wade from Ghent, general Ligonier was left commander in chief, and came to Brussels, where he nobly offered his advice and concurrence in whatever might be proposed for the good of the common cause, either during the winter, or to forward preparations for the spring. At some of these conferences held by count Caunitz, the first minister, count Konigseck-Erps the late minister, the duke d'Aremburg, general Vander-Duyn, and the earl of Craufurd, then the only British general with general Ligonier at Brussels, every thing was transacted with great calmness

ness and cordiality, not only as to the situation of the country during the winter, but also as to the magazines and numbers of troops that would be necessary to prevent misfortunes through that season, and even to check enterprizes in the spring. General Ligonier particularly represented all this to the British ministry, from whom he received orders to call a council of war, consisting of all the British generals, therein to take their opinion.

As the French seemed again to threaten the empire, and consequently endanger the Hanoverian dominions, the British generals were to consider, whether they thought the Low-countries might be defended, if they detached fourteen Hanoverian squadrons, and seven battalions, to join so many Dutch, who were on their march for that purpose. Accordingly, general Ligonier assembled the British generals to a council of war at Ghent, on the 13th of December, when they met at ten in the morning, and most of them voted for the march of the troops.

General Ligonier, lord Albemarle, lord Rothes, and lord Craufurd delivered their respective opinions in writing; but the generals Churchill, Ingoldsbey, and Skelton, declined it, saying, they would be glad to hear the opinions of others before them. Lord Craufurd gave his opinion in writing to the secretary of the council to read, wherein he represented,

“ That he was of opinion, a body of seven battalions, and fifteen squadrons, of Hanoverians, might instantly march to the Lower Rhine; because he made no doubt but the prudence of their High-Mightinesses would lose no time in replacing them, on thoroughly considering how few the forces were in the Netherlands, not only

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to defend them from any sudden attempt; but also to secure that important point, the communication with England, from whence the British troops must be recruited both with men and horses, in order to render the army in Flanders capable of giving that suitable diversion necessary to restrain the enemy from sending a superiority of force, which they might otherwise convey into the empire, as well as down upon the Lower Rhine, to prevent their further dangerous designs. Besides, the army of the allies on the Lower Rhine, might also, by proper motions, contribute to the prevention of any dark designs towards the Netherlands, as well as on Great Britain, if a proper understanding was maintained between the two armies of the allies, until it was thought expedient to join both under one head, and so as to form their magazines to prevent either incursion or invasion."

This was the general sense of the council of war, which general Ligonier transmitted to the administration in England; but the ministry was entirely changed at that time.

From the situation of affairs in the Low Countries, the allied generals were empowered to establish magazines, at the most proper places, for the sustenance of the troops. General Ligonier ordered that there should be one of three hundred thousand rations at Ghent, two hundred thousand at Oudenarde, and one hundred thousand at Tournay; besides instructing the contractors to agree for a considerable quantity more, if necessary. The Dutch general Vander Duyn established his magazines at Mons, Tournay and Charleroy.

The magazines of the confederates were very forward for opening the campaign of 1745; and if all other dispositions

positions had been equally in readiness, they might for once have taken the field before the enemy, especially upon the death of the emperor; which happened very fortunately for the house of Austrian; though "many events had turned out, as one would imagine, for no other end than to save her from perdition."

Who could consider the treatment of Great Britain from France, in the prosecution of the necessary war against Spain, without conceiving a just indignation to such a treacherous enemy? who could reflect on the late intended invasion, and not enjoy greater satisfaction to see the mask taken off, and France appearing in her proper light of an avowed foe to the honor and liberty of Great Britain? these she had been long, by fraud and force, endeavoring to subvert: but in defence of these, the British nation was now engaged in a war, which must consequently be necessary and just. The Dutch also sent an auxiliary squadron to join the British fleet, which was successful every where: but that detail is not absolutely requisite to a work of this kind, adapted only to those military operations which were now principally conducted by the DUKE of CUMBERLAND.

The continuance of the Hanoverian troops in the British pay, had been constantly and vehemently opposed; but more with a collusion to supplant the principal minister, than to serve either the national interest, or that of her Hungarian majesty for whose service they were originally intended. The vigorous plan pursued by lord Carteret was diametrically opposite to the pacific measures followed by Sir Robert Walpole: His majesty had embraced it, because it appeared more agreeable to his own royal glory, and the illustrious figure the British nation

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was accustomed to make among the neighboring potentates. This had given lord Carteret an ascendancy over the royal ear; an ascendancy dreaded by his ministerial rivals; and even envied by a great number of that very party who had distinguished themselves in overturning the pyramidal greatness of the former minister, and exalting lord Carteret on his ruins. These were augmented by such as were still attached to the Orford interest; and thus united, their force was irresistible. Therefore, lord Carteret, who was then earl Granville, voluntarily resigned the seals to his majesty, before the meeting of parliament, with as much cheerfulness as he received them: after which, William earl of Harrington, lord president of the council, was appointed secretary of State in his room; many friends of lord Carteret were displaced; and others, of the opposite party, promoted to the most considerable employments.

His majesty, on the 27th of November, went to the house of peers, and opened the fourth session of parliament with a speech from the throne, importing, "THAT the posture of affairs abroad required their most serious consideration: THAT he had exerted his endeavors for the support of the house of Austria: THAT the queen of Hungary had shewn the greatest constancy and resolution; and the king of Poland had sent a very considerable force to her assistance: THAT the king of Sardinia had magnanimously resisted the combined forces of France and Spain, and happily defeated an enterprize formed for his destruction, and for the reduction of Italy, as well as for most of the ports in the Mediterranean, under the power of the house of Bourbon. THAT he was determined to support his allies, and was endeavoring

ing to fix the certain proportions of forces and expence to be furnished by each of the confederates, in the prosecution of the war."

Both houses voted the most loyal addresses, without the least opposition. The lords declared, " They had the security and true interest of his majesty's kingdoms, and the happy issue of this just and necessary war, entirely at heart; and would, at the hazard of their lives and fortunes, stand by, and defend his majesty, his royal family, and the government, against the ambitious and destructive designs of France, and of any other power that should attempt to attack or disturb them." The commons expressed themselves with equal loyalty, and concluded, " That his majesty might depend on their ready and chearful assistance, to maintain the honor and dignity of his crown; and effectually to support his allies."

In the mean time, to ease the fears of the friends to Great Britain, with regard to the effects which an alteration in the ministry usually produce, the king commanded all his ministers, resident in foreign courts, to declare, " That as all that had been transacted was a domestic concern, which ought to have no influence on the general system, it would not occasion the least change as to the general affairs of Europe; his majesty persisting invariably in his former resolutions, both for the support of his allies, and for procuring a solid and honorable peace." This gave a glorious acquittance, from the succeeding ministry, to the earl Granville; by owning that their opposition was not to the measures, but to the person of the minister, whose plan they adopted, because they were not so capable of projecting one of their own.

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The national debt, on the thirty-first of December, amounted to 53,679,247*l.* of which 2,638,900*l.* had been increased since the thirty-first of December 1743; and nine millions since the commencement of the war with Spain, in which time the navy-debt had also increased three millions: however all parliamentary matters were conducted with the utmost unanimity.

The new ministry went under the cant denomination of the Broad-Bottoms, and granted 6,492,890*l.* for the services of the year 1745. The supplies amounted to 6,571,244*l.* which was an excess of 78,354*l.* Those supplies were for the maintenance of forty thousand seamen, at 4*l.* a man per month, which was calculated at 2,080,000*l.* for 28,107 men to be employed in Flanders, computed at 781,698*l.* and for the continuance of 11550 marines, reckoned at 206,253*l.* The subsidy to the queen of Hungary was augmented to 560,000*l.**. Another sum of 500,000*l.* was granted to enable his majesty to carry on the war with vigor: and these with the subsidies to their Sardinian and Polish majesties, the electors of Cologne and Mentz, and other articles, took up the appropriation of the supplies.

As gentlemen of all denominations were united in one common interest, they were all intitled to some degree of preferment. His majesty made the first promotions on the twenty-fifth of December, when his grace John duke of Bedford, John earl of Sandwich, lord Archibald Hamilton, lord Vere Beauclerk, Charles lord Baltimore,

* This augmentation was granted the queen to enable her to receive 8000 of the Hanoverian forces, which were dismissed from the Bri-

tish service, to amuse the inclinations of the people; and 57,965*l.* was granted to defray the charge of the return of those troops.

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George Anson, and George Grenville, esquires; were constituted and appointed to be his majesty's commissioners for executing the office of lord high admiral of Great Britain, and Ireland, and all the dominions, islands, and territories thereunto belonging. His majesty also appointed the right honorable Henry Pelham, esquire; Charles Sackville, esquire, commonly called earl of Middlesex; and Henry Fox, esquire; together with Richard Arundel, and George Lyttelton, esquires, to be commissioners for executing the office of treasurer of his majesty's exchequer. The earl of Chesterfield was soon after made lord lieutenant of Ireland, in the room of the duke of Devonshire, who was made lord-steward of the household, in the room of the duke of Dorset, who succeeded the earl of Harrington as lord president of the council. Lord Monson, Sir John Philips, and others were appointed lords commissioners for trade and plantations. George Dodding-ton, esquire, was made treasurer of the navy: lord Gower re-accepted the custody of the privy-seal: Sir John Hynd Cotton was appointed treasurer of the chamber; and Edmund Waller, esquire, treasurer of the household. His majesty also granted to George earl of Cholmondeley, and Pattee lord viscount Torrington, the office, or offices, of vice-treasurer, receiver-general, and pay-master general of all his revenues in Ireland; and likewise the office of treasurer at war within the same kingdom.

The British court, being thus vigorously seconded by the parliament, took the necessary measures for the naval service, and the success of the approaching campaign. The government had now in pay, four troops of horse, and two of grenadier guards; eight regiments of horse,

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and fourteen of dragoons; forty-two regiments of foot, and ten regiments of marines, on the British and Irish establishments: there were five regiments of foot in the garrison of Gibraltar, five in Minorca, one in the Leeward islands, one in Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, one in Georgia, and one in Jamaica; four independent companies in New York, one in Bermudas, and one in Providence: in all twenty-two regiments of cavalry, and sixty-six of infantry; making seventy-nine thousand men: of which, two troops of horse, and one of grenadier guards; three regiments of horse, six of dragoons; twenty-one regiments of foot, and three battalions of foot guards, were in Flanders, where they were now to be commanded by his Royal Highness the DUKE of CUMBERLAND. All the ships in the royal navy were ordered to be immediately fitted for service, and among other promotions, Edward Vernon esq. was appointed admiral of the white, and William Rowley and William Martin esqrs, vice-admirals; lord Vere Beauclerk rear-admiral of the red, and George Anson esq. rear-admiral of the white.

As the French, during the winter, were making the necessary preparations for taking the field in the Netherlands, with a very formidable army; the confederates found it absolutely necessary to fix upon commanders, who were immediately to repair to the Hague to settle the plan of operations.

In England field-marshal Wade had resigned the command of the army, either by choice or necessity, when no man stood so fair a chance of succeeding him as marshal Stair. However, the queen of Hungary having declared

clared count Konigseck, the Dutch declared the prince of Waldeck; and count Konigseck, being an older field-marshal than the earl of Stair, it is said, his lordship would not accept of the command; and that, therefore his majesty determined that his Royal Highness the DUKE of CUMBERLAND, should head the forces, under the title of captain-general in chief.

Accordingly, on the 7th of March 1745, a commission passed the great seal of Great Britain, constituting and appointing his Royal Highness William Augustus, DUKE of CUMBERLAND, captain-general * “ of all and singular his majesty’s land forces, raised or to be raised, or employed in his majesty’s service within the kingdom of Great Britain; and also of all and singular his majesty’s land forces, which were, or should be employed abroad, in conjunction with the troops of his majesty’s allies.”

His majesty also appointed the earl of Dunmore a general of foot. Joshua Guest, Charles Otway, and Phineas Bowles esqrs, lord Cadogan, Philip Anstruther, John Folliot, Adam Williamson, James St. Clair, and Thomas Wentworth esqrs, the duke of Richmond, John Guise esq. and the earl of Albemarle, lieutenant-generals. William Blakeney, Humphry Bland, and James Oglethorpe, esqrs, lord Delawar, the duke of Marlborough, Edward Wolfe †, Anthony Lowther, and William Merriek, esqrs; the earl of Craufurd, George Churchill, Henry Skelton, John Johnson, and John

* The late illustrious John duke of Marlborough, was the last commander who enjoyed this high office.

† The father of the famous ge-

neral who so gloriously fell at Quebec, in the arms of victory, like another Epaminondas.

Wynyard, esqrs, major-generals. And Thomas Bligh, Charles Armand Powlett, Samuel Walter Whitshed, William Douglas, John Jeffreys, Thomas Fowkes, George Byng, James Fleming, Daniel Houghton, John Price, John Mordaunt, and James Cholmondeley, esqrs, lord Sempill, and Henry de Grangues, esqrs, brigadier-generals.

Though the ministry were so intent on establishing the necessary domestic measures for prosecuting the war, they were far from neglecting to cultivate a stricter friendship, contracting other alliances, and inviting the desultory powers to engage more vigorously in the interest of her Hungarian majesty abroad. Instructions were immediately sent to Mr. Villiers, the British minister at the court of Saxony, to use his utmost efforts to remove any ill impressions which the behavior of the British ministry had made on his Polish majesty, and put the finishing hand to the treaty of Warsaw.

The Dutch, though attacked in their barrier, had not altered their pacific system. Attentive to their own safety and preservation, they shared, with his Britannic majesty, in the payment of one third of the subsidies to the elector of Mentz and Cologne, and joined in negotiating the quadruple alliance at Warsaw: however, they were no ways inclinable to become principals in the war. Therefore the British ministry thought it absolutely necessary to send a minister of the most eminent abilities to the Hague, to induce their High Mightinesses to act more consistently with their natural interest, their friendship to the British nation, and their engagements with the queen of Hungary. The earl of Chesterfield was nominated to discharge
this

this important office, in the quality of ambassador-extraordinary and plenipotentiary : in which character his lordship embarked for Holland, on the 11th of January ; with instructions to sign a convention on the plan formerly laid down by lord Carteret, of settling their quotas and proportions of troops, fleets, and subsidies, so low as one part in three, instead of insisting, as before, of two parts in five. His lordship *, on his arrival at the Hague, had several conferences with their High Mightinesses, to invigorate their proceedings ; the result of which were secretly concealed ; though of such importance, as to put Mr. Trevor upon repairing to London, and back again, with uncommon celerity, for instructions to terminate the negociation. But the consequences shewed, that the most accomplished nobleman, orator, and politician of his age, had little better success than his predecessor the earl of Stair.

The States consented to furnish their quota of troops for the confederate army ; though all the masterly elocution of the British Demosthenes could not prevail on them to become principals in the quarrel : but however variable or irresolute the councils of the republic were, at a time that required the greatest steadiness and unanimity, the community were more sensible of their interest ; they saw their imminent danger from the incroaching power of France, nor did they conceal their dissatisfaction at the conduct of their superiors ; for they openly expressed their

* As this nobleman, in a former embassy, was the happy instrument in consolidating the engagements that were the basis of the public

liberty ; so the states-general declared that no person could be more capable of giving consistence to those engagements.

disapprobation of the measures taken by the government by libels and satires, publicly affixed at Amsterdam and the Hague, in which their governors were unreservedly charged with evil administration, corruption, and perjury. When it was perceived that even the influence of the earl of Chesterfield could make no impression on the inflexibility of the Dutch, his Britannic majesty, on the 12th of April, imparted his resolution to the States of recalling that nobleman from his embassy; who took his audience of leave, on the 7th of May, and graced his departure with an elegant oration, concerning the close union and reciprocal interest of the two nations*: after which his excellency left the Hague, and arrived in London on the 11th of May.

A great alteration was expected in the European system by the demise of the emperor Charles VII †. which happened on the 9th of January. This occasioned his Britannic majesty to take a resolution of speedily visiting his German dominions, as his presence might contribute to the tranquillity of the empire, and re-establish the house of Austria in the imperial dignity. His majesty, on the 2d of May, went to the house of peers, and gave the royal assent to several bills; after which, he concluded

* His lordship observed, that "the close union of the two nations was neither the effect of some transient views, nor the fruit of accidental conjunctures; but the just consequence of their reciprocal and invariable interests. Nature pointed it out to them, in placing them as she had done; and the uninterrupted experience of almost a century did not permit them to be ignorant that their mutual prosperity depended on their union. This truth

was so indisputable, that they ought to look upon as their common enemies, all those who presumed to call it in question."

* This Charles Albert Cajetan, was the eldest son of Maximilian Emanuel, elector of Bavaria, by his second wife Theresa Cunigunda, daughter of John Sobieski king of Poland. He was born in 1697, succeeded his father as elector in 1726, and was elected emperor in 1743.

the session with a gracious speech from the throne. The same day, the king declared, in council, his intention of going out of the kingdom in a short time, and nominated the lords of the regency * during his absence. The next day his majesty embarked at Gravesend, on board the *Caroline*-yatch, for Holland; where he was conveyed by a squadron, under the command of rear-admiral Anson, and landed at Helvoetsluys on the 12th, from whence his majesty proceeded directly for Hanover.

Such were the domestic affairs of the British nation; which were greatly influenced by the situation of her Hungarian majesty, and the conduct of the other European princes. In the mean time, the French ministry published a pompous list of their national forces; by which they pretended, that the household-troops, horse and foot, made eight thousand four hundred and twenty-four men; the gendarmes twelve hundred; the horse thirty thousand four hundred; the dragoons fourteen thousand and twenty; the infantry two hundred and eight thousand nine hundred and eighty; the militia eighty thousand; the *Graffins*, half-foot and half-horse, twelve hundred and fifty; the independent companies eleven hundred and fifty; the invalids four thousand; which, added to twenty squadrons of hussars, amounted in all to three hundred and forty two thousand five hundred men; including eighteen thousand six hundred and forty-eight officers. So that acquiescing to the authenticity of this list, the provinces of France must have been necessarily greatly depopulated;

* Among these were, John duke of Bedford, first commissioner of the admiralty; Philip earl of Chesterfield, lord lieutenant of Ireland; John earl of Stair, field-marshal of the forces; William earl of Bath;

Richard lord viscount Cobham, field-marshal of the forces; and Henry Pelham, Esq. chancellor of the exchequer, and first commissioner of the treasury.

since, to make up this formidable army, there must have been an augmentation of one hundred and sixteen thousand men, after the conclusion of the last campaign. But the veracity of this military list may be justly impeached, by the consequences of the ensuing campaign, in which the French forces were forty-seven thousand less than those employed in the preceding one.

The infantry which her Hungarian majesty proposed to have actually on foot, were forty-three German regiments, of three battalions each; nine Hungarian regiments, of four battalions each; five Walloon regiments, of four battalions each; three Italian regiments, two of three, and the other of four battalions; and two Swiss regiments, of four battalions each; being sixty-two regiments, consisting of two hundred and three battalions, and twenty-four companies of grenadiers; in all, one hundred and fifty-two thousand five hundred men. The regular cavalry were intended to make forty thousand men; exclusive of the Hungarian insurgents, and other irregulars, amounting to fifty thousand men; besides forty thousand militia; which would have augmented the whole force of her Hungarian majesty to two hundred and eighty-two thousand five hundred men; but the regiments were greatly incomplete; they were even so deficient that the queen was not able to send above one hundred and thirty-one thousand men into the field; which were almost sixty thousand less than she had employed in different quarters, in the campaign of 1744; though this deficiency was more owing to a scarcity of money, than a scarcity of men.

The contending armies, to act the principal scenes in the next military tragedy to be represented on the spacious theatre

theatre of Europe, were not so numerous as was either originally intended, or ostentatiously recounted. The French pretended to parade the Netherlands with one hundred and twenty thousand men; though they actually brought no more than seventy thousand into that country: but these were opposed by only fifty-three thousand of the confederate troops. The French acted with seventy thousand men on the Rhine, where the confederates had only forty thousand. In Bavaria, the French and their auxiliaries composed an army of thirty-five thousand men, who had forty thousand Austrians for opponents. His Prussian majesty had ninety thousand men to take the field on the side of Bohemia; where the confederate army, of Austrians and Saxons, consisted of only seventy thousand men. The French and their allies had eighty-four thousand men in Italy: but the conjunct forces of their Hungarian and Sardinian majesties amounted to no more than forty-five thousand men.

From whence it appears, that the French monarch and his auxiliaries were ready to fill Europe with three hundred and fifty-five thousand combatants: though his Britannic majesty and the queen of Hungary, with their allies, were only capable of bringing two hundred and forty-eight thousand men for an opposition; which was an inferiority of one hundred and seven thousand men; and gave the superior armies general advantages, in all their different situations, except in Bavaria.

The conquest of the Austrian Netherlands was the result of several extraordinary councils in the cabinet of Versailles; for which they had destined a formidable army, to be commanded by marshal Saxe, who was to be accompanied by the French monarch in the operations

tions of the campaign. All the regular regiments unemployed within the kingdom were ordered to march to Flanders; and the whole army assembled, on the twenty-sixth of March, between Dunkirk and Valenciennes, consisting of eighty-nine battalions of foot, four battalions of grenadiers, and sixteen battalions of militia, in all one hundred and nine battalions of infantry. The cavalry consisted of one hundred and twenty-two squadrons of horse, twenty-four squadrons of dragoons, and three regiments of hussars; besides two battalions and a half in the train of artillery: so that the whole army, had every corps been complete, would have amounted to ninety-eight thousand men; but, as they were greatly deficient, the whole body did not exceed seventy-six thousand men *.

Marshal Königseck † had made the tour of Dresden and Hanóver during the winter, to settle the operations of the campaign in the spring; after which he repaired to the Hague, where he held several conferences for the disposition of the confederate forces in Flanders, which were then assembling in the neighborhood of Brussels. The conference being ended at the Hague, Marshal Königseck set out for Brussels on the 28th of March, and was followed, on the 30th, by the prince of Waldeck, whom the States-General had appointed commander in chief of their auxiliary troops in Flanders.

His Royal Highness the DUKE of CUMBERLAND, by the consent of her Hungarian majesty and the States-

* Though this army was provided with a train of 160 pieces of heavy cannon, and 60 mortars, nothing of moment was expected till the arrival of their sovereign in the camp; whose departure from

Versailles was suspended, from day to day, on account of the success of the Austrian forces in Bavaria, and to see the determination of affairs in the electorate.

† Or Königsegg.

General

General, was now invested with the chief command over the whole confederate army; upon which lord Craufurd observed in his journal of this campaign, that "It was to be wished each of the parties concerned, had then also determined an addition of five thousand infantry to each of the contingents of troops that were to take the field; for it seems strange it did not occur to them, and yet it is impossible but it must; because it is not to be imagined that reasonable people could suppose a fewer number added to what they knew was already destined for the service in Flanders would defeat the projects, and resist the army which it might be depended upon a king of France, with a count de Saxe, would enter with into that country: and was as strange, our chiefs did not insist upon it when they came to the Hague."

Field-marshal Konigseck assembled a sort of council, or military conference, of all the generals that were then at Brussels; whereof lord Craufurd was the only Brigadier; the others being the prince of Waldeck, lieutenant-general Ligonier, and lieutenant-general Vander Deyn. The field-marshal opened this conference, with such judicious questions as might be expected from so experienced an officer; such as in relation to the number of troops each party concerned had in the Low-Countries? how many battalions and squadrons each could carry into the field? if they expected to be joined by any more; and whether before the army took the field, or during the campaign? if the regiments were complete: if they were not so, how many they wanted; and how soon they expected their recruits? when all their camp necessaries would be in such readiness, as that their respective corps would take the field? how many had last campaign been

been left in such and such garrisons; and how many would be necessary this? if the army should begin the campaign by taking up such and such a camp, as the enemy seemed to point their designs towards such and such quarters; or whether they had other intelligence than what he laid before them? whether the army should assemble on Cambroon, or Leuse camp; or whether mostly at Anderlecht, and so march from thence to either of those camps, as judged most proper to be the best place of rendezvous? The marshal then proceeded to inquire, where their magazines were situated; how much forage they contained; and whether they could be easily transported to the above-mentioned camps; as also by what method, by water or land carriage? whether, if they marched to those camps, it would not be absolutely necessary to have a flying army along the canal between Ghent and Bruges? how many men they could spare for that purpose? and whether it would not be necessary, that all the generals should write to their constituents, that so many troops could be only detached from their army for that end; and that it would be absolutely necessary they reinforced that corps with others out of their respective countries, or from whence they best could find them? Marshal Konigseck then informed the council, that there was no time to be lost; that if they unexpectedly could get earlier into the field than the enemy imagined, or than the allies were accustomed to do, they might possibly catch the French before they had got all their troops up: but if the allies lingered till all the enemy's forces were joined, the latter would become so far superior, that it would be impossible for the former to act otherwise than

than on the defensive till the end of the campaign, unless they were reinforced."

The allied generals thought this a very just way of reasoning, so far as they could determine from the intelligence they had, and the appearance of affairs: therefore, they unanimously agreed, the whole army should make ready to take the field on some particular day, if approved of by the DUKE of CUMBERLAND, whom they expected in a few days.

His Royal Highness the DUKE set out from St. James's for Holland on the fifth of April, and arrived at the Hague on the seventh, when he was complimented by the foreign ministers; and the next day he was attended by the members and regents of the states, which their strictness in observing Easter hindered them from doing the day before.

The impatience of his Royal Highness to join the army hurried him away on the ninth, and the next day he arrived at Brussels, where he found the army in excellent order, and highly animated with the presence of their ROYAL COMMANDER, who immediately applied himself to review and discipline the troops; for which purpose he was constantly in the field by break of day. As the troops were new cloathed, they made a fine appearance, and were very desirous of meeting the enemy.

During the time that these military transactions were under deliberation, rough sketches and computations being made upon every particular; lieutenant-general Ligonier undertook to make his secretary draw out a clear copy of the most of what had been computed in relation to the number of troops that would be absolutely necessary

to

to be left in garrison; how many would be requisite on the canal; and the number afterwards that would remain to compose the grand army. These, if complete, should have been seventeen thousand eight hundred and eighty-six men to remain in garrison; but, according to the lists they amounted to only fifteen thousand and fifty-eight: the detachment upon the canal should have been seven thousand four hundred and ninety-five; but they were set down as only six thousand one hundred and fifty complete: and the grand army, if complete, should have been composed of fifty-one thousand six hundred and sixty men; but these were set down at forty-three thousand four hundred and fifty men*.

Marshal Saxe, who commanded the French army, was the eldest of the natural children of the late Augustus II. elector of Saxony and king of Poland, by Aurora countess of Koenigsmark, one of the most celebrated beauties of her age. The marshal had entirely devoted himself to a military life: he had served under prince Eugene, and marshal Munich, on the Rhine and the Danube, in early days; and when he entered into the service of France he justly attained to the highest step of

* This account is authentic: though I have seen others, which say, the confederate forces were to have consisted of 80,000 men; but the 24,000 which the queen of Hungary was obliged to furnish by the barrier-treaty, for the security of the Netherlands, were sent to form the army on the Rhine: so that his ROYAL HIGHNESS was suffered to take the field with only 21,000 English, 8000 Hanoverians, 22,000 Dutch, and 2000 Austrians, amounting to no more than 53,000 men: an inferiority sufficient to

encourage the French. M. Voltaire says "it must be allowed that the French army was considerably superior to that of the allies; though in several printed relations it was said to have been weaker: however historical exactness obliged him to acknowledge that it was stronger by sixty battalions and eighty-two squadrons; for the French had 106 battalions, including the militia, and 172 squadrons; whereas the allies had only 46 battalions and 90 squadrons."

military preferment. The reputation of this general, and the resolution of their monarch to make the campaign, invited the flower of the French nobility to take the field; so that the marshal was honored with the presence of five princes of the blood, twenty-two lieutenant-generals, and forty-five major-generals, of the most distinguished rank *. The DUKE of CUMBERLAND was now entering into the twenty-fourth year of his age: his bravery was great; his views were glorious; and, excited by a true spirit of heroism, his Royal Highness disdained the superiority of the French; whose advantage lay more in the experience of their commander, than in their superiority of troops †. Charles-Augustus-Frederic, the reigning prince of Waldeck, was in the fortieth year of his age; he delighted in a military life, and had given eminent proofs of his courage upon many occasions, particularly at the battle of Krotzka in 1739, where he was wounded, but not so dangerously as his gallant friend the earl of Craufurd ‡. Marshal Konigseck had also distinguished himself in the imperial service, and was in great estimation for his prudence and abilities ||: he had com-

* Count Saxe had made the art of war his constant study, even in time of peace: Besides a profound theory, he had great practical knowledge:—in short, vigilance, secrecy, the art of knowing properly when to postpone and when to execute a project; to see things at one glance, presence of mind and foresight, were abilities allowed him by the consent of all military people.—But at that time this general was wasting away with a lingering disorder, and almost at death's door, when he left Paris." Voltaire.

† "The chief strength of the allied army consisted in twenty battalions, and twenty-six squadrons of

English, under the Young DUKE of CUMBERLAND, who in company with the king his father, had gained the battle of Dettingen. The English were joined by five battalions and sixteen squadrons of Hanoverians." Ibid.

‡ The prince of Waldeck, of much the same age as the DUKE of CUMBERLAND, like him full of ardor and impatient to signalize himself, was at the head of the Dutch forces, consisting of forty squadrons and twenty-six battalions." Ibid.

|| In this army the Austrians had only eight squadrons: the allies were fighting their cause in Flanders, a country that has been long defend-

manded

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manded against the Turks in Hungary, and against the French in Italy and Germany: so that it was intended his years and experience should be a check to the youthful ardor of the DUKE of CUMBERLAND, and of prince Waldeck,

The most essential preliminaries towards taking the field being settled by the allies, in at least a sort of conference, if not a council of war, all became curious to know the result of it, and particularly the enemy, who could not discover the real number of troops the allies should be able to bring into the field: but as to near the time, that soon became known to them, of which they as well profited. The allies quickly heard of a considerable corps of French approaching Mons, and venturing even so far on the Brussels side of it, that the garrison thought proper to seem as if they would disturb their rear; which, with other motions that were made, and as the enemy's whole design was to cover their real intentions of besieging Tournay, they judged it best to retire towards Cambroon, and towards Maubeuge and those quarters, where they remained, as they did not intend to run any risk. At last the allies heard the French had actually invested Tournay; which was agreeable intelligence to his Royal Highness the DUKE of CUMBERLAND, and field-marshal Konigseck, who frequently had been heard to say, he would give an hundred ducats to find they had attached themselves either to Mons or Tournay.

Orders were thereupon issued out for the allied army to hold themselves in readiness to march without fail on

ed by the arms and treasure of England and Holland. But at the head of this small number of Austrians

was old general Konigseck. The whole allied army was upwards of fifty thousand combatants." Ibid.

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the 19th of April, when they decamped from Anderlecht, and encamped before Hall, about three leagues from Brussels, where they were joined by part of the garrison of Namur. On the 22d, they encamped at Soignies; decamped on the 24th, and encamped on the plains of Cambronn, from whence a party was sent to dispossess the French from Leuse, who immediately retired: but their abandoning this post so abruptly was a disappointment to his Royal Highness the DUKE, and the field-marshal; because they had always determined to attack towards the ground they at last did upon, and therefore they would have amused the enemy as long as possible towards Leuse; though the French were soon informed of the real intention of the allies, and were well prepared to receive them. Indeed, the French had no notion the allies would attack towards those quarters, till their march plainly demonstrated it; for they judged the approach on that side so strong, that the allies durst never venture it; but where, if they ever came, the French were determined to stand; as marshal Saxe had assured the king, if his army could not stand the allies there, after he had time to fortify himself, he might carry them back to Paris, for they would stand them no where.

A general council of war was held, wherein the confederate generals declared, "that they looked upon the raising of the siege of Tournay as a point of the highest importance": upon which his Royal Highness the DUKE of CUMBERLAND, the prince of Waldeck, and marshal Konigseck, formed the resolution of attempting to relieve the town, whose strength was fatally experienced

* "As soon as the States-General were informed that Tournay was in danger, they sent word to the

commander of their troops that he must venture a battle to relieve the town." Ibid.

by the confederates under the duke of Marlborough, who took it in 1709, with the loss of several thousand men. Tournay is the capital of a little district in Flanders, called from it Tournefis; and was antiently inhabited by the Nervii, a people celebrated in history for their valor and love of liberty, until they were conquered by Julius Cæsar. The town is large and elegant, consisting of seventeen parishes, situate on the river Scheld, thirteen miles east of Lisle, and twenty one west of Mons. The fortifications were built under the direction of the famous engineer M. Megrigny, when the French took it from the Spaniards in 1697. The citadel is one of the best works of Vauban, and is a regular pentagon, with five royal bastions, defended by half-moons, and by four horn-works. The covered way is extremely well countermined, as was also the best part of the glacis, and most of the other works. As it was one of the barrier-towns, it was defended by a Dutch garrison of eight thousand men, commanded by baron Dorth. The French were impatient for its reduction, because Tournay has been considered as the key of Flanders; since it lies at so small distance from Lisle, and covers both Oudenarde and Ghent; which occasioned it to be held in such estimation by the French, that cardinal Polignac told Louis XIV. that Lisle and Tournay were the two eyes of France.

The French monarch *, accompanied by the dauphin, arrived in the camp before Tournay, where marshal Saxe informed his majesty, that he suspected the confederates

* He had married the Dauphin to the second infant of Spain, in the month of February; and this young prince, who had not completed his sixteenth year, prepared to set out the beginning of May along with his

father." Voltaire's history of the war of 1741. — The king set out the 6th of May from Paris, with the Dauphin: the king was attended by his aids-de-camp, and the Dauphin by his minions. *ibid.*

were bold enough to adventure a battle; therefore as he was conscious the French troops were unable to stand before the British forces fairly in the field, he was determined to depend upon stratagem more than open strength; and accordingly made the best preparations for a brave defence against a noble attack. He left eighteen thousand men before Tournay, who were posted at gradual distances from the field of battle; besides six thousand to guard the bridges on the Scheld, and the communications. The disposition of the French was as advantageous as possible: they had on their right a river, and the village of Antoine, where they erected a dreadful battery: in their centre was another terrible battery; and before it the village of Fontenoy, intrenched and fortified with a great number of cannon: and on the left was the wood of Barry, well planted with cannon; and a fourth redoubt at the point of Bois-de-Barry. Their camp was on an eminence, which rose by an easy ascent from the plain; and wherever the ground was level they had run lines of different heights, one behind another, to embarrass the confederates in passing them; where they must be exposed to the terrible fire of impregnable batteries all the while they were attempting it. The French had also batteries behind their wings, which were to open at a proper time, and make way for the horrible destruction expected from them by cartridges of small shot. They had cannon planted, almost invisible, on their intrenchments, pointed breast-high, and loaded so as to do dreadful execution; while their own forces were almost secure from danger, by being intrenched up to their necks. So that the confederates, besides a more numerous army, had two hundred and sixty six pieces of heavy cannon

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and field-pieces to encounter; while their own could scarce be of any utility.

On the 26th, the allied army decamped from Cambronn in order of battle, the whole making a most war-like appearance; which was principally owing to the strict discipline preserved by his Royal Highness the DUKE of CUMBERLAND, who obliged the officers to keep at their posts, due distance from their leaders, and no baggage or wheel-carriages to be mixed with the troops. This regulation was extremely necessary, as they began to approach a very vigilant general, whereon every thing depends with the French, whose youth are generally as remiss in all parts of discipline, except bravery, as their old people are precautions.

On the 27th, the same orders were issued by his Royal Highness for the army to hold itself in readiness to march at a moment's warning*. On the 28th, about six in the morning, the whole army decamped in two columns marching by the left, when there happened many halts

* "I was sorry, says lord Crauford, it either became so quickly public we were to march to-morrow; or to be a question whether it might not be by the left rather than the right: because, though I believe the enemy were by no means thoroughly informed of it; yet we might, without any inconvenience to our army, have been much longer in doubt; consequently, with more reason, the enemy so; by making our right wing of cavalry, who could not fail, as they were to make the rear, having a great many halts; during which time they could easily regain any ground they might lose, by being ordered to retire after our avant-guard for a little way towards

Leuse, then suddenly change their route, and take a shorter one than the army, which unquestionably they might have done, or follow the army if that was not thought proper; which, without order to march by the left, we might have done, had it been ordered that no corps should stir until they saw that upon their right or left move off their ground; taking care to instruct the commanding officer only on the right of all the infantry, that he should not mind the cavalry of the right wing, who were to make the false motion; but that he would have orders to move when proper, which might have been always seasonably enough sent to him."

from

from the roads scarcely being passable for the head of the columns, which had not met with this interruption if the roads had been as carefully mended as they were the last marching day, and which should have been done, whatever pains and expence they might have cost; for then the head of the columns would not have been exposed to an affront, had the enemy been daring or enterprizing enough to do it; and the march, that lasted till six in the evening, might have been over by twelve at noon, without confusion; consequently early enough to be within reach of taking an advantage of the enemy's surprize, "who ought to have been immediately reconnoitred, and not before the army was apter of pushing any advantage the confederate genera's might have judged practicable over the enemy; which, by neglecting the roads, was not only irretrievably lost, but leisure thereby, allowed the enemy to recover the consternation that might arise among their troops, and to take all the advantages they could foresee necessary; while the allies, by not being able to be up with the enemy this evening, lost all the advantage they ever could gain from the motion they made*." It was about six in the evening when the army arrived in camp, and very late before the baggage got up; after being exposed prodigiously before it marched

* "I mean, adds lord Craufurd, in case we intended to raise the siege by hazarding a battle this day, if a thing not to be done without a battle, and for which purpose our motion was far from being improper; because from Breisle, where our head-quarters came to be established, we had it daily in our power extremely to disturb the enemy, and even to oblige them to detach to cover their

own frontiers; which corps, if ever overtaken and defeated, would have raised the siege as effectually as if we gained a general battle but unquestionably there could be nothing so effectual, not only to serve the present purpose in raising the siege, and interrupt the enemy's after game, as giving a battle, or making them at least retreat the river."

off from the ground near Leuse, had five hundred Gräfsins, with Uhlans and some hussars, watched the rear: however, it got up safe; as also the bread-waggons, whose conductors inadvertently passed the whole night at Leuse.

On the 29th, early in the morning, prince Waldeck and marshal Königseck attended his Royal Highness the DUKE of CUMBERLAND in conference, when the necessary resolutions were made to attack the enemy. When the earl of Craufurd waited on the DUKE between eight and nine, his Royal Highness asked his lordship, if he knew that he was ordered out upon a command? his lordship told his Royal Highness he did; having met general Campbell, under whose command he was to act: after which, his lordship took leave of the DUKE, and went to general Campbell, who was also attended by the earl of Albemarle, general of that command. The general acquainted their lordships, "That his Royal Highness had done him the honor to give him a very noble command; that he would endeavor to do his utmost with it, and was charmed he was so fortunate as to have them to command under him: adding, that their command was to be composed of twelve squadrons and ten battalions from the right-wing; that there were to be so many from the left, to be detached by prince Waldeck, to be sustained, if requisite, by the whole army, which was ordered to lie under arms: that the Dutch were to clear all the woods and villages in the front between them and the enemy; and that he was to do the same; that he expected it would be warm work, and doubted not they would all do their duty." Lord Albemarle went and got himself ready; while lord Craufurd

Craufurd breakfasted with the general; after which they mounted, and repaired to the head of the line, where they found the DUKE of CUMBERLAND before them with the field-marshal. It was a fine day, and having received the final orders of his Royal Highness, the infantry were immediately ordered to march off from the right; and the cavalry were ordered to fall in the rear of the last battalion: so continuing their route, they passed their avant-guard, which was also under arms as far as the high ground overlooking Vefont.

The Dutch exchanged some fire to the left, and more than was necessary in making the enemy retire out of one of the villages; which, according to their laudable custom, without any manner of reason, they set fire to; as they retired, so abandoning all the villages and rivulet to Vefont; while the English were as quickly occupying them, and advancing their posts from thence. The Dutch placed themselves almost opposite to Antoinne, and the village of Maubray, and up as far as opposite to Fontenoy: the English from thence came up to Vefont, and all along the valley from that village, leading thro' the edge of the Bois-de-Barry. The DUKE, the field-marshal, and prince Waldeck, were present, who gave the orders they thought necessary, as soon as both infantry and cavalry were ranged; when some liussars were permitted to go and skirmish in the plain between Fontenoy and the woods which the English occupied. The Highland regiment was ordered from the avant-guard to Vefont; and the DUKE, the field-marshal, and prince Waldeck, under their cover went and reconnoitred as far as with any safety they could, because of the Grassins, who concealed themselves in the corn.

The Austrian hussars drew some cannon-shot from Fontenoy, and brought out a corps of the enemy's cavalry upon the rising ground between Fontenoy and the point of the Bois-de Barry; which the allied chiefs observing, and as the enemy still kept under the cover of their ground, with little parade, his Royal Highness returned again through the village of Vefont by a rising ground that overlooked it and the plain.

The DUKE then determined that nothing farther should be attempted this night: but that the detachment of Dutch should maintain their posts; and that general Campbell should maintain those of Vefont, being reinforced by the Highlanders, who were posted with the queen's free company along the outward edge of the village towards the enemy.

His Royal Highness had several deserters, who informed him, the enemy were hurrying over as many troops as they could from the other side of the water, and were making all the preparations necessary to receive the allies. "Indeed, says lord Craufurd, they spoke truth for once; because they had determined to stand us at all hazards; observing, by the few troops that approached them this evening, they would have yet all this night to prepare for us: but I know not what they might have done during the night, had our whole army boiled the pots and dined early and well, to have afterwards marched and taken up our ground, while we were defiling along the valley of Vefont, so along the edge to the Bois-de-Barry, with orders to attack every thing that presented itself in our way; and, wherever we met with paths, to have extended ourselves through the woods, so as to get up to the edge of the point of it, where we had intelligence they were building their forts; and even further a good way

way to the right-hand towards the Caussée-de-Leuse, in order to have a body of at least four or five battalions, as far as the edge of the wood, to come round and take any troops in flank, that should pretend to take in flank our first line, as it should advance past Fontenoy and the point of the wood; at the same instant also attacking the fort: all this, considering the strength of the enemy, to be rather done in the evening, throughout the night, or at least before the break of day; when all our army ought to have been formed, at least as far advanced as the edge of the wood, extending into the plain; while the others might only keep possession of the Bois-de-Barry, till it should have been thought proper to attack; which, makes it a question, whether there would have been a Frenchman on our side the river in the morning; because they confessed that if we could have done this the night before, they would not have withstood us. But our generals imagined, had we done so this night, it might have also happened; because, if during the night it had been thought proper to make any push, and that upon it there had happened any confusion among the French, it would have been very difficult to rally them, as they knew they were got near a bridge, and were sensible, if they missed it they must sink or swim. Their minds were likewise very differently affected from ours; considering we were sole masters either to attack or not, as we judged convenient; but that they were obliged to be on the defensive, without the least prospect of attacking, of which we were almost as certain as they, who must have been startled at hearing of a sort of attack in the night, which the attackers know they can make without risking any thing; but which the defenders cannot judge whether it is the beginning of a general
 assault

assault or not; so that confusion must happen unavoidably more or less upon one side as well as the other. But as it is much more dangerous for those who know they are only to defend, it becomes more eligible for the attacker to make all the trial, and take all the advantages of the night, which is certainly on the side of the assaulters, if thoroughly instructed what they are to do, and what is to be done, that the others may be surprized: for though a man knows he will defend his post very well, he is not sure his retreat may not be cut off, particularly when it is over a river, and only by so many bridges. Variety of other reasons may be advanced: but all this assertion is to come to a political one, which I believe influenced in our favor. It is well known that marshal Saxe was no way desirous of hazarding any thing, and that he wanted only a handle to bring about his ends, which he thought was as much for the interest of his master, as hazarding his whole country to be ravaged, if he lost a battle upon the present occasion. Yet, as he only wanted a pretext, a small confusion in the night, with numbers to support it, could not have failed of alarming so young a warrior of a king, unacquainted with night attacks, which appear of all the most dreadful, though the least so, if well conducted; which might have easily so influenced the king, as to make him rather retire in the night over the river, and in a manner to save his honor, than to hazard any thing, either throughout the night, or in the morning."

It appears, that marshal Saxe had made dispositions both for a victory and a defeat. The bridge of Calonne, lined with cannon, strengthened with intrenchments, and defended by a battalion of guards, another of Swiss, and
three

three of militia, was to facilitate the retreat of the king and the dauphin, in case of any unlucky accident. The remainder of the army was to have filed off at the same time, over the other bridges on the Lower Scheld, in the neighborhood of Tournay*.

The best account I could obtain from our British generals of the position of the French army is as follows: and the best account given by the French may be seen in the notes.

The defence of the post of Antoine, situated on the right of the line, was intrusted to the brigade of Piedmont and Biron, with six cannon at the head of those regiments, which were commanded by the counts de la March and de Lorges. The marquis de Crillon was posted with his regiment near the redoubt at Antoine, whereto his right extended, and which spread along a water-flood. On the left of that regiment, were three regiments of dragoons, to support it: and the rest of the ground between the posts of Antoine and Fontenoy was occupied by the brigade of Bettens. The village of Fontenoy was committed to the care of the count de la Vauguion, who had

* M. Voltaire also tells us, that he had taken all the precautions for the "obtaining a thorough information of the detail of a battle, of which even the least particulars must be interesting to the whole nation. Casting an eye, says he, upon the plan, you may perceive at one glance, the disposition of the two armies. You may see Antoine pretty near the Scheld, within 900 fathom of the bridge of Calonne, the way that the king and the dauphin came. The village of Fontenoy is within 800 fathom of Antoine: from thence, drawing towards the north, is a

piece of ground 450 fathom broad, betwixt the woods of Barry and of Fontenoy. In this plan you see the disposition of the brigades, the generals who commanded them, with what art they prepared against the efforts of the enemy near the Scheld and Antoine, betwixt Antoine and Fontenoy, in those villages lined with troops and artillery on the ground which separates Fontenoy from the woods of Barry, and finally on the left towards Ramercroix, where the enemy might advance by making the compass of the woods."

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under him the son of the marquis de Meuze-Choiseul with the regiment of Dauphin, of which this young man was colonel. This was joined by the king's brigade, which formed the right of the centre line, and was a little beyond the post of Fontenoy, which it sustained, under the command of the duke de Biron, who acted as lieutenant-general. This line was continued, on the left of the king's brigade, by the viscount d'Aubeterre at the head of his regiment; by the four first battalions of the French guards, the two first battalions of the Swiss guards, and the regiment of Courtin, on the ground extending from Fontenoy to the wood of Barry. The fifth and sixth battalions of French guards, and the third of the Swiss guards, were ordered to guard the intrenchments of the bridge thrown over the Upper Scheld. On the left was the Irish brigade, commanded by lord Clare, placed opposite to the wood of Barry, in a little plain, and extending beyond the height of the second redoubt erected on the left of that wood. On part of the plain, on the left of the Irish to the village of Ramecroix, was posted the brigade of Vaisseaux, commanded by the marquis de Guerchi. The battalion of Angoumois, a little behind this last brigade, was in the castle of Bourquenbray; and the regiment of royal Corsicans in that of Elmont. The brigade of Normandy was posted in the village, the castle, and the intrenchments of Ruvignies. Lieutenant-general count de Lowendahl was placed with the brigade of Auvergne, the three battalions of the regiment of Touraine, and thirteen squadrons of horse and dragoons, between the village of Ruvignies and Mount Trinity, where was posted the regiment of Beaufobre's hussars, which was sustained by a detachment of four hundred

hundred men stationed in Roguefort castle : and the crown brigade was on a second line behind the brigade of Irish,

Behind the line of foot in the centre were formed two lines of horse. The first consisted of six regiments, with the brigade of royal Rouffillon, which took the left of that line, to sustain equally the two battalions of Swiss-guards and the Irish brigade, the whole line being fifty paces from the brigade of Betten's; and it's left at the head of the redoubt on the right of Barry wood : the duke d'Harcourt, the count d'Etrees, and the count de Penthievre, were lieutenant-generals of the first line. The second line of horse, formed by five regiments, extended it's right to the brigade of Crillon, and it's left to Notre Dame aux Bois : it was commanded by M. de Clermont-Gallerande, du Cheila, and d'Apcher : and between these lines of cavalry were afterwards placed four regiments of infantry, being those of la Couronne, Hainault, Soissons, and royal, under the command of M. de Clermont-Tonnerre, and the prince de Pons, of the house of Lorrain. The royal regiment of Carabineers was posted, by way of reserve, between the district of Leuse and two lime-kilns, on which two batteries were planted. The king's household, consisting of thirteen squadrons, was behind the Carabineers, between Notre Dame aux Bois and Vaux; and four squadrons of the Gendarmerie closed the left of the king's household*.

* "The king's household and Carabineers were in the corps de reserve. This was a new method practised by marshal Saxe, and recommended by the Chevalier Fo-

lard, to secrete from an enemy's view those troops which are most famed for bravery, against whom they generally direct the flower of their forces." VOLTAIRE.

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As the regiment of Dauphin was ordered to defend the village of Fontenoy ; therefore a battalion of D'Eu's regiment was posted in each of the two redoubts of Barry wood. The hussars of Linden were divided into various detachments round Tournay, to examine all who should come out of it ; while the regiment of Grassins was sent forward to watch the motions of the confederate army.

Such a situation was most admirably designed ; not to dispute an open victory in the field ; but to prevent the consequences of raising the siege : not for conquest, but destruction.

This was the disposition of the French, who were to oppose the allies*. But as the confederate generals found they could not get into the plain, which was between the French camp and the defiles, without first driving them from all their little posts ; this was resolved to be attempted : and accordingly, on the 30th of April, six battalions and twelve squadrons, with five hundred pioneers, six pieces of cannon, and two haubitizers, were commanded from each wing for this service ; which was performed with great ease, under the direction of lieutenant-general Sir James Campbell, who drove the French every where, to the very top of the rising ground near their camp ; where they stood drawn up, as well to observe

* " While the lieutenant-general marquis de Breze, the marquis d'Armentieres, the duke Fitz-James, and M. de Contades, major-generals, with 27 battalions, and a few regiments of horse, were left to continue the siege, and prevent

any sallies from the garrison : so that the French, who were preparing for battle in their intrenchments, were 3000 more than the confederates, who had every disadvantage to encounter." My hist. of the war, vol. III. p. 557.

the confederates, as to cover the dispositions of their own army behind that line.

His Royal Highness the DUKE of CUMBERLAND, marshal Konigseck, and prince Waldeck, went upon the plain, and examined the ground until evening, when they left the detachment at the posts they had taken, and the order was given for attacking the French early the next morning; after which his Royal Highness and the field-marshal retired to their quarters, to give their necessary orders for the army's marching to join the detachment early the next morning. They saw the French burn a little village, somewhat short of Fontenoy; which was done by direction of marshal Saxe, as soon as the confederates should appear to be marching up to the attack of those intrenchments: but it occasioned the French troops to remain under arms, and the general officers at their posts, while the king returned to his head-quarters at Calonne *.

When the earl of Craufurd took leave of field-marshal Konigseck, his lordship told him, that "he thought it would not only be necessary, but it would turn out well, to have the Bois de Barry, as it were, on a line with the infantry before morning." The marshal answered, "if they had them to spare; but he would think upon it."

* M. Voltaire tells us, that "Never did the king express greater cheerfulness than the evening before the engagement: the conversation turned upon the battles at which the kings of France had been present; and his majesty said, that since the battle of Poitiers, there had not been any king of France who had his son with him in an engagement; that none of them had ever gained a signal victory over the English; and he hoped

to be the first."—John I. and Philip his fourth son were defeated and taken prisoners by Edward prince of Wales in 1356, at a place called Maupertuis, near Poitiers, anciently Lemum, the capital of Poitou. The French army consisted of 80,000 men; the English had only 12,000; so that this victory was very glorious for the prince of Wales. See my History of France, p. 118.

Upon which his lordship wished him a good night, and desired his aid-de-camp to put him in mind of it, because he foresaw it would be of great consequence.

Sir James Campbell being finally instructed by his Royal Highness the DUKE of CUMBERLAND, and left to his own management, the first thing he proposed to the earl of Albemarle, after ordering all the cavalry to dismount, and the infantry to lie down upon their arms, was to go and reconnoitre all their own posts; which they did; altering some, and posting others, under the popping shots of some grassins, who continued skirmishing with some highlanders and hussars the whole afternoon.

The roads by which the army were obliged to enter the plain, might have been mended, and rendered practicable, by the five hundred pioneers, who marched with this detachment, but were sent back to the camp, by what accident even lord Craufurd could never learn: so that there remained only about fifteen or twenty, which his lordship desired adjutant-general Durour to send him to keep with his cavalry, and whom he encouraged to perform all the work done that night, sending some of them to brigadier Borlengar, where the others were gone, which the general was extremely angry at; because, had there been a thousand, there could have been work enough for them, considering the number of fascines that ought to have been in readiness.

By the time that general Sir James Campbell had completed his rounds, it began to be duskish, and consequently time for him and his generals to look out for their quarters, which they took up in the village of Vésent. The general invited the earls of Albemarle and Craufurd to sup with him; which they did in great tranquillity;

quillity; neither towards the Dutch, or their own posts, hearing any disturbance; only one post, which was thought proper to be left without on the edge of the plain, was obliged to retire, on account that the grassins during the night contrived to crawl too near them, and on horseback they were too considerable objects; wherefore they were ordered to maintain a post, not far from that at the edge of the wood, which had much the same effect.

The village of Vezont was set on fire by some of the British troops; though the strictest orders had been given to the contrary: however, it was stopped from burning any more than two houses, by the care of the generals. Lord Albemarle and lord Craufurd alternately reconnoitred their posts; the former between twelve and one in the morning, and the latter between two and three. While lord Albemarle was going out to make his round, an alarm was given at one of the advanced posts of highlanders by some grassins, who soon made off when they found they were pursued. But while lord Craufurd made his round of both posts and workmen, and during the rest of the night, there happened no disturbance; and the night was so extremely quiet, that his lordship could not help wishing the whole allied army had been just at that moment marching to the attack. It was so calm, that the soldiers could hear at a very great distance; inso-much, that some patrols of the highlanders and free company, affirmed they heard the enemy working at their forts *: however, as there was no order to distur-

* The modern practice of war, on account of the present method of discipline and use of arms, is very different from what it was for-

merly. The troops at Fontenoy passed the night in the greatest silence; but at Agincourt the officers were busy in arming themselves for them

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them, both officers and troops were permitted to take as much rest as possible; which they accordingly did until about four o'clock, when his Royal Highness the DUKE arrived; it being resolved to attack the enemy this morning; for which purpose the troops were in motion at two.

His Royal Highness passed the evening with field-marshal Konigseck, prince Waldeck, Sir John Ligonier, and some of the other general officers, when it was deter-

the morning, which is thus beautifully described by our inimitable Shakespeare, in his chorus at the

beginning of ACT IV. of his play called, "The life of king HENRY V."

CHORUS.

"Now entertain conjecture of a time,
When creeping murmur, and the poring dark,
Fills the wide vessel of the universe:
From camp to camp, through the foul womb of night,
The hum of either army's silly sounds;
That the fixt centinels almost receive
The secret whispers of each other's watch.
Fire answers fire; and through their paly flames
Each battle sees the others' umber'd face.
Sneer threatens sneer, in high and boastful neighs
Piercing the night's dull ear; and from the tents,
The armorers accomplishing the knights,
With busy hammers closing rivets up,
Give dreadful note of preparation."

To which may be added the conclusion of this fine chorus, with a small alteration, as follows:

"Who now beholds
The ROYAL CAPTAIN of this (British) band
Walking from watch to watch, from tent to tent,
Let him cry, Praise and glory on his head!"

Doctor JOHNSON's edition, vol. IV. p. 431.

The battle of Agincourt was fought on the 25th of October, 1415. The French army were 150,000 men; the English only 9000: the former commanded by the constable d'Albret; and the latter by their king. It is remarkable that king Henry V. attacked the French at Agincourt much in the same manner, and under the

like disadvantage, as his royal descendant the DUKE of CUMBERLAND attacked them at Fontenoy. The battle of Agincourt began at ten in the morning, and lasted till five in the afternoon, when the king of England completed a most glorious victory. Rapin, vol. I. p. 514.

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mined in what manner to attack the enemy early in the morning.

The first of May, at two in the morning, the confederate army marched forwards in four columns, and drew up, in order of battle, on the plain, where the detachment of the preceding day was posted. The right wing, composed of English; and the Hanoverians, who formed the centre, under major-general Zastrow; were to form in four lines before the village of Vezont: and the left wing, consisting of all the Dutch, with the few Austrians, were to draw up to the left, in two lines, as far as the wood of Pierrone. They were to march up in three columns: the first column, which was cavalry, to come on by the road of Mons, along the village of Vezont: the second, being infantry, to march through the village of Vezont: and the third to stretch into the plain between Fontenoy and Antoine.

M. Voltaire tells us, that the day the battle was fought, the French monarch himself, at four o'clock, awakened count d'Argenson, secretary at war, who that instant sent to marshal Saxe to know his final orders. They found the marshal in a wicker vehicle, which served him as a bed; and he was carried about in it, when his strength came to be so exhausted that he could not ride on horseback. The king and the dauphin had already passed the bridge of Calonne, with a numerous retinue, but a small guard*, and took post beyond the place called "The justice of our lady in the wood." Marshal Noailles kept near his majesty; and the duke de Vil-

* The king, "for his guard men, one gendarm, a light horseman, and a musketeer." Voltaire.

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leroi was also about his person, as captain of the guards; while the dauphin had his own attendants; who were followed by a multitude of persons of all ranks, whom curiosity had brought to this place, some of whom were mounted on the tops of trees to be spectators of the battle. At this time, marshal Saxe, attended by his aide-camps and the principal officers, visited all the posts.

The DUKE of CUMBERLAND having been informed, that there was in the front of the village of Vezont, a fort mounted with cannon; where five or six hundred men might be lodged; his Royal Highness ordered brigadier-general Ingoldby, with four good battalions and three six-pounders, to attack this village sword in hand; while the prince of Waldeck should attack the village of Fontenoy, which he had undertaken to do. His Royal Highness ordered general Campbell, with his twelve squadrons, to defile through Vezont, and enter the plain; leaving the highway and inclosures before the village to their right hand, so as to cover the infantry of the right wing, which was commanded by lieutenant-general Sir John Ligonier, whilst it should be forming, by extending those squadrons along the plain from the wood towards Fontenoy.

General Campbell with his cavalry passed through Vezont with great expedition, forming as quickly to the left of the village, under the cover of some hedge-rows, until all the twelve * squadrons got into the field: while a line of Dutch infantry moved a little forward into the plain, and made room for the cavalry to form in their

* The London Gazette, of the 11th of May, 1745, says they were 15 squadrons: which was a great mistake.

rear. The Dutch gave ground to their right, consequently closing more to their left towards Fontenoy and St. Antoine, to make place for the British infantry, who were then entering the plain, and forming in the front of the cavalry.

The British horse, from their entering into the plain before five o'clock, had stood upwards of an hour under a constant cannonade of three batteries, when the infantry began to take their share of it, by drawing some of the batteries upon them as they formed with their left towards Fontenoy, and their right towards the Bois-de-Barry, filling up the whole interval.

"It is inconceivable, says lord Craufurd, what a number of bullets plunged in among the British troops, while their first line and cavalry were forming: and as inconceivable how undauntedly they stood. Lieutenant-general Ligonier, an extreme good officer, formed the foot; and, on their entry, lieutenant-general Campbell the twelve squadrons, which were for a considerable time all the cavalry they had up. But unhappily, and which is ever to be regretted, general Campbell had his leg shot off by a cannon-ball, at the head of his squadrons, which obliged him to be carried off the field, and occasioned his death in two days. I am of opinion, adds his lordship, by hints I heard the general give, that, if he could have remained in the field, he would have distinguished himself this day; and heaven knows what turn he might have given to affairs!"

However, Sir John Ligonier formed the two lines of infantry, quite exposed, without any other interruption from the French, than a brisk cannonade.

The cannonading began on both sides, about a quarter after four in the morning *, when the DUKE of CUMBERLAND, was mounted on a fine horse, at the head of the British troops, whose noble appearance he highly commended. The fire of the artillery was incessant, and occasioned a melancholy destruction: but his Royal Highness ordered Sir John Ligonier to cause seven pieces of cannon to advance at the head of the brigade of guards, which soon silenced the moving batteries of the enemy.

After the death of Sir James Campbell, the command of the twelve squadrons devolved upon the earl of Craufurd, who completed the general's design in forming them the rear of the second line, taking up as much ground as he could until other cavalry came in, which happened between eight and nine, when the command of the whole cavalry of the right wing devolved upon lieutenant-general Hawley, who immediately made the cavalry take up their ground according to their rank in line of battle, which they had just finished as the two lines of infantry got forward and began to march up the high ground, where the horse at the beginning had been severely cannonaded from the French batteries, which were surpriz-

* "At break of day, count d'Argenson went to see whether the artillery of the redoubts and villages was in good order, and whether the field pieces were all arrived. They were to have 100 pieces of cannon, and had only 60; which were four pounders, and drawn by soldiers. The cannon in the villages and redoubts, as also those planted on the other side the Scheld against the Dutch, were from four to sixteen pounders. Two battalions belonging to the ordnance

were distributed in Antoine, Fontenoy, and the redoubts, under the direction of M. Brocard, lieutenant general of the artillery. The allies had 81 cannon and 8 mortars: their field-pieces were three-pounders, formerly called Fauconets; but some carried balls only of a pound and an half. The cannonading began on both sides. Marshal Saxe told marshal Noailles, that here the enemy would stop: for he supposed them to have formed a deeper design than they really had." Voltaire,

ingly silenced by three pieces only, brought into the plain, and placed to the right of the road from Vezont. These three pieces also pretty early dispersed a body of cavalry, that stood formed, all the day before and this morning, about half-way between Fontenoy and the point of the wood, as if it had been their grand-guard.

The fort near the wood should now have been attacked; and if that had been done, as his Royal Highness ordered, it would, in all probability, have been carried; which would have greatly contributed to the farther success of the allies: but, by some fatality, brigadier Ingoldby did not attack the fort; notwithstanding the repeated orders sent to him by his Royal Highness and general Ligonier. His Royal Highness entered the plain between five and six o'clock, and immediately went to brigadier Ingoldby, to see for what reason he had not moved up towards the point of the wood *. The pre-

* The brigadiers afterwards justified his conduct in the following manner: He represented, "That on the day of the battle, being the 30th of April, O. S. his ROYAL HIGHNESS sent for him early in the morning, and told him he was to attack six pieces of the enemy's cannon situated in the wood; and that captain Forbes, aid-de-camp to lieutenant-general Campbell, would shew him the place; who carried him to the orchard where the highlanders were posted, and shewed him the wood. Some of the officers of the highlanders informed him that the enemy had cannon at the point of it. On the brigadier's return he acquainted the DUKE he had been shewn the place; and also told his major of brigade what was to be done. His ROYAL HIGHNESS farther ordered the brigadier, if he took the

cannon, to turn them upon the enemy; for which purpose four gunners were ordered, and four battalions, being Durooure's, Pakeney's, lord Semple's highlanders, and an Hanoverian regiment. That the brigadier marched beyond the village into a hollow way, where he halted within an hundred yards of the wood, in order to reconnoitre; and from the banks of which he observed that the enemy had a strong detachment in the wood, and at that juncture were making several detachments towards; particularly one which lay low flat in the corn, about forty yards from the flank of the wood; and two others which marched and joined some squadrons near it. That the brigadier finding the enemy thus advantageously situated, sent major Bernard to the DUKE, to acquaint his ROYAL HIGHNESS that he

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sence of his Royal Highness contributed not a little to make his troops despise the severe cannonading they were obliged to form under. Field-marshal Konigseck and prince Waldeck entered the plain much about the same time as his Royal Highness, all of them with an unconcerned appearance, and encouraging the troops to follow their example *. The DUKE and general Ligonier or-

thought some pieces of canon would absolutely be requisite to flank the enemy, whilst he marched to the attack; which the duke readily complied with, and immediately ordered three six pounders. That soon after, the brigadier sent captain Craufurd to acquaint the DUKE with what he had observed; during which time the brigadier called the commanding officers together, acquainted them what was to do, and consulted with them the properest way to attack. That it was resolved to draw up upon the right of the hollow way, where there appeared no difficulty to hinder their march, and likewise having it in their power to flank the enemy as they marched. That when the brigadier was putting this motion into execution, captain Craufurd returned; and immediately after the DUKE came up: the brigadier then acquainted his ROYAL HIGHNESS with the observations he had made, the cannon being then arrived, and on the left of the hollow way. That his ROYAL HIGHNESS

then ordered the brigadier to form on the left of the hollow way, the cannon to advance and fire, and the battalions to march and support them; the DUKE also farther ordered the brigadier to keep in a direct line with that part of the army on the left. That his ROYAL HIGHNESS some time after returned, and ordered lord Semple's regiment to the attack of the village; which was the whole day afterwards separated from the brigadier's command. That the brigadier continued at the head of Duroure's regiment, within 150 paces of a redoubt, from which he was exposed to a continual fire from the beginning of the action, which the loss of that regiment would make appear; and in the attack the brigadier had the misfortune to receive a wound, which obliged him to be carried off."

* His Royal Highness here appears again like king Henry V. at Agincourt, as described by our immortal dramatic poet;

" For forth he goes and visits all his host,
Bids them good-morrow with a modest smile,
And calls them brothers, friends, and countrymen,
Upon his ROYAL FACE there is no note,
How dread an army hath enrounded him;
Nor doth he dedicate one jot of color
Unto the weary and all-watched night;
But freshly looks and overbears attaint,
With chearful semblance and sweet majesty;
That ev'ry wretch, pining and pale before,
Echo'lding him, plucks comfort from his looks,

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dered several batteries to be erected along the front of the first line, while they formed; which encouraged and gave great spirits to the troops, as they certainly so long as they had any ammunition played with great success upon the enemy. The same was done before the Dutch; but not with such good effect; their bullets falling mostly short, particularly the battery that ought to have played on Fontenoy did no service; however, they served to cover and animate their troops as they formed, stretching themselves away down to St. Antoine, opposite to Fontenoy, where it was agreed their most considerable effort should be made.

The cannonading * continued without any intermission till nine o'clock, when the confederate army was formed in order of battle: immediately, upon this, Sir John Ligonier acquainted the DUKE OF CUMBERLAND, by an aid-de-camp, that he was ready; and, if his Royal Highness approved it, would march to begin the attack,

A largest universal, like the sun,
His lib'ral eye doth give to ev'ry one,
Thawing cold fear."

Dr. JOHNSON's edit. vol. IV. p. 433.

* Great execution was done on both sides, and M. Voltaire says, that the duke of Grammont met count Lowendahl, who advanced with him within a little distance of the first redoubt of the wood of Barry, opposite to an English battery: Here a canon-ball struck the duke of Grammont's horse, and covered the count with blood; a piece of flesh, which flew off with the shot, fell into his boot: "Have a care, says he to the duke, your horse is killed." "And so am I," answered the duke. The upper part of his thigh was shattered by the ball, and he was carried off the field. When M. de Peyronne met him upon the

road to Fontenoy, he was dead. The surgeon made a report of it to the king, who said with concern, "Ah! we shall lose many more to day."—Voltaire may be right: but the duke de Grammont's death happened in a singular manner: he was mounted on a fine white horse, at which some of the English matrosses fired several shot, for a small wager, to see who could bring him down; as they judged the rider to be an officer of rank. The shot that took place was fired off by one Baker, who told me the fact, for which he was rewarded with a pension of 18 l. a year.

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as soon as prince Waldeck should march to the village of Fontenoy, as had been previously agreed upon.

When the two British lines were drawn up, with the cavalry behind them, the DUKE of CUMBERLAND put himself at their head. His Royal Highness gave orders to march, directly, to attack the left wing of the French posted at Antoine. The Hanoverians, with prince Waldeck and twelve Dutch battalions, moved at the same time to attack Fontenoy; while the remainder of the left wing proceeded to an eminence, from whence they cannonaded the French, but never attempted to make any attack on their right wing.

While the confederates were marching to the respective attacks, the French kept a most terrible fire of cannon, making whole lanes through the ranks of the confederates, particularly the English, who nevertheless advanced with the most amazing intrepidity.

About eleven, the Dutch, finding they could not run into Fontenoy, as they had done into Maubray the evening before, faced to the right about; "and I never in my life-time, says lord Craufurd, saw such a confusion: however, they left a general in the village, and a few more, killed behind them; which ended their first attack upon Fontenoy, where Marshal Saxe had sent a general officer to the church, who reconnoitred both Dutch and English, and every motion that was made, from the top of the church, with a spying-glass; whence, to be sure, he could give very salutary advice, if he was an intelligent man; and no doubt monsieur de Saxe would place no other there. This deroute of the Dutch, his lordship remarks, had an extreme bad effect upon the minds of the troops in general; though not so much upon our's; who,

who, after they were first ranged, and still in march towards the enemy (THE NOBLEST SIGHT I EVER BEHELD!) never stopped until they had got through a shower of bullets and musketry. At last, our first line got past Fontenoy, and the redoubts at the point of the wood, within thirty yards of the first line of French infantry, which our first line, with his Royal Highness at their head, threw into confusion entirely; our troops receiving the fire of the enemy at thirty yards distance; which made, I suppose, one of our foot-guards say, observing all the enemy's motions go on with great regularity, "For what we are about to receive, the Lord make us thankful."

M. Voltaire has given a diffused and confused account of these transactions; sometimes in praise of the English, but only to aggrandize the French, and particularly the affected courage of their monarch, in opposition to the undoubted bravery of the DUKE OF CUMBERLAND, who was at the head of his troops in the midst of unparalleled dangers; while the French king, it is well known, was in the rear of his army, notwithstanding what M. Voltaire has been pleased to say on the subject: therefore, no farther credit should be given to what he has so fablingly advanced in that part of his little history; which, it must be confessed, is well adapted for a romance, and sufficiently wire-drawn to entrap those ignorant writers or readers, who are unacquainted with historical facts.

The British infantry, which had been drawn up very thick, broke the brigade of the French guards at the second charge, and obliged them to fall back on the Irish brigade. The French cavalry immediately advanced;
but

but were not able to stand the fire of that line of infantry; so that the British troops, for above an hour, had a very visible advantage over the left wing of the French; though several of their squadrons rallied, but were again compelled to give ground by the prodigious fire from the British infantry; who thus, unsupported by their cavalry, had a fair prospect of a complete victory; bearing down all before them; and after driving the left of the French army three hundred paces beyond the fort and the village of Fontenoy, found themselves masters of the field of battle, as far as to their camp. The left wing of the French, after retiring to so great a distance to avoid a close engagement, at length, opened, and uncovered two batteries of great guns, charged with cartridges of small-shot; which made so terrible a fire, in front and flank, that all the valor of the British column could not bear up against it.

It is certain the whole line of the enemy fell into the greatest confusion; and had only some battalions out of our second line been led up to replace the battalions that had suffered most; or had it given way a little to our first, and that the rest of the second line had advanced only so far as to have allowed the whole two lines of cavalry to get with their flanks past the fort, consequently under the fire of Fontenoy, as well as that of the fort; it would have been impossible for marshal Saxe even to have rallied his people again, especially as general Zastrow had thrown into confusion their best troops about the fort, who ought to have been taken in flank by the troops that lord Craufurd would have had along the edge of the wood towards the Cauffee de Leuse; where, it is true, prince Waldeck's regiment with some hussars endeavor-
ed

ed to get in the morning, and who ought to have been reinforced with as many troops as could be sent there; because from thence the allies could have won the battle: but, instead of being reinforced, they were called off, on the Dutch running away, to go and attack the village of Fontenoy with the Highlanders. This was one of the most imprudent steps taken throughout the day, except a motion that was ordered to be made by the British cavalry to the right, across almost an impassable hollow way, which threw all that were obliged to pass into the greatest confusion; and for no end or purpose, if it was not to get the right flank under the cover of the Bois-de-Barry, which his Royal Highness the DUKE very judiciously prevented, though he could not the confusion. But this was the first thing that put a stop to the career of the British troops; for it was just as they were advancing; and there were some that would have rode over the second line, had they not moved forward as they observed the success of the first, and that it, as well as general Zastrow, wanted to be sustained. Besides, it plainly appeared, that both Fontenoy and the fort might have their communication cut off from the French army, if the allies made their push good; and if they made it not, as neither fort nor village was taken, nothing else could ensue but what happened. However, lord Craufurd observes, that "had we pushed forward with regularity, as we really got drest after our first confusion while the enemy was running away; it is my real opinion there were orders once issued out for their army to retire; and if the signal of retreat had been given, it could never have been recalled."

The.

The left wing of the allies, though favored by the fire of the English batteries, and supported by two English battalions which his Royal Highness sent to favor the attack of Fontenoy, not having succeeded in that attack *; and the fort not having been attacked at all; the British troops found themselves between cross fires of small arms and cannon, and were also exposed to that of the enemy's front: so that the generals found it necessary to retire to the height of Fontenoy, and the fort near the wood, from whence there was likewise a continued fire, which occasioned some confusion; but by the attention of his Royal Highness the DUKE and marshal Konigseck it was soon prevented, and the troops put into order again.

It was now about twelve o'clock, and the confederate generals resolved to make a second trial. The British troops were to endeavor to carry the redoubt in the wood; while prince Waldeck re-attacked the village of Fontenoy. The British soldiers, animated by their ROYAL LEADER, and encouraged by their generals, recommenced the attack with all imaginable spirit and bravery; driving the French to their camp with prodigious loss: great part of their infantry was broke, and many of their squadrons routed, as fast as regiment after regiment presented itself to attack the British troops, which

* Prince Waldeck attempted two attacks successively on the village of Fontenoy: but scarce was he arrived at the head of the first intrenchment, before he was taken in flank by a battery of twenty-five large pieces of cannon, which were planted behind a wood, and made such a dismal havoc, in discharging chain-shot and partridge, that the foremost troops were obliged to fall

back upon those who were advancing to sustain them: upon which M. de la Vauguyon, who commanded in the village of Fontenoy, vigorously redoubled his fire, and obliged the prince to recede: which together with the misfortune of brigadier Ingoldiby not succeeding in his attack upon the fort of Vezent, brought the British troops into a melancholy situation.

still gradually advanced, like an impenetrable phalanx, under a constant and regular fire.

The French monarch shuddered for the fate of the day; his generals thought it was lost; and advised him to retire; but marshal Saxe, perceiving the confusion of his men, commanded the household troops to advance; ordering these to be followed by the foot, who in the first disposition, sustained the left; and some pieces of cannon, to silence the British artillery, which greatly annoyed the household troops. This new disposition made an immediate alteration, checked the violence of the British infantry, and gave leisure to the Irish brigade with that of Vaisseaux to form themselves. Such was the intrepid bravery of the British infantry, that marshal Saxe was now reduced to his last and principal effort to retrieve the honor of the day: and this was in bringing up the Irish brigade; a corps on whose courage and behavior he entirely depended for a favorable decision of so great, so dubious, so well contested a battle.

The Irish brigade, consisting of the regiments of Clare, Lally, Dillon, Berwick, Ruth, and Buckley, with the horse of Fitz James, being drawn up, were sustained by the regiments of Normandy and Vaisseaux, and marched up to the British line without firing. The British ranks were now greatly thinned; the men wearied; and obliged to fight over the bodies of their dead and dying countrymen: while their new and bravest opponents were fresh for an engagement like that on the plains of Pharsalia, where brothers, friends, and countrymen were opposed to each other for their mutual destruction, and thereby augmented the most awful horrors of war.

However,

However, the first line of the British troops not, finding themselves sustained, were discouraged ; though they were regiments whose officers had already said they had got the day, and returned them thanks for their behavior, on seeing a first line throw away their fire, and run away ; a second line present themselves and throw away their fire, and not only run away but disappear : so that then the British officers thought they had little more to do, the French troops before being all in confusion. But alas ! the British troops, after performing wonders, could not surmount impossibilities. No fresh corps led up to their relief ; no fresh orders what they should do further ; no cavalry within reach of them to keep up the panic with which the enemy had been struck ; no appearance of the Dutch forcing towards any quarter ; no probability of the garrison of Tournay causing any disturbance ; no sign of any attempt from the Bois-de-Barry, and from the Caussée de Leuse upon the enemy's left, where some of their best troops were ready to rush in upon the right of the allies, if general Zastrow gave way ; and no appearance of an attempt upon St. Antoine, was it only to restrain the French from drawing their troops from thence to animate the others to rally, who had been already dispersed. Upon the whole, we may say, with lord Craufurd, that “ no favorable circumstances declaring themselves in our favor, it became impossible for broken corps, who had lost their generals, most of their officers, and at least one third of their men, without being sustained and cherished by fresh leaders, as well as fresh corps, to support the repeated efforts of fresh troops, as well as those rallied willingly under the eye of their king ; the former to distinguish themselves, and the rallied to retrieve

trieve the reputation they had hazarded, each being easily conceived to be doubly more desperate and animated than they had been at the beginning: cavalry as well as infantry renewing their assaults upon our right as well as left; though as often repulsed on all sides, but more particularly by general Zastrow upon our right flank, and the first regiment of foot-guards upon the right of the first line, whose behavior, officers as well as men, exceeded all description; but at last were obliged to submit to what fate had decreed."

When the Irish brigade advanced to meet the British line, dreadful was the fire, and the slaughter great: the combat was close, sharp, strong and bloody; fought fire to fire, and bayonet pushed against bayonet*. But so great was the diminution of the British troops, the attack of the Irish brigade so vigorous, the fury of the French artillery so perpetual, that the former, being also charged by the

* This may put us in mind of the whole fifteenth book of Homer's Iliad, and particularly, allowing for the difference of arms and discipline, of the following line:

"No room to poize the lance, or bend the bow;
But hand to hand, and man to man they grow:
Wounded they wound; and feel each other's hearts
With faulchions, axes, swords, and shorten'd darts.
The faulchions ring, shields rattle, axes sound,
Swords flash in air, or glitter on the ground;
With streaming blood the slipp'ry shores are dy'd,
And slaughter'd heroes swell the dreadful tide."

POPE's translation, B. XV. v. 865—867.

As also of the seventh book of Lucan's *Pharsalia*:

"Firm in the front, with joining bucklers clos'd,
Stood the Pompeian infantry dispos'd:
So crowded was the space, it scarce affords
The pow'r to toss their pikes, or wield their swords.
Forward, thus thick embattled though they stand,
With headlong wrath rush furious Cæsar's band:
In vain the lifted shield their rage retards,
Or plated mail devoted bosoms guards;
Through shields, through mail, the wounding weapons go,
And to the heart drive home each deadly blow."

Rowe's translation.

household

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household troops and attacked in front by the carabiniers began to feel a repulse, nor could they support the violence of so impetuous a shock: therefore, about one o'clock, they were obliged to retire to the ground between the village and the point of the wood. The French cavalry endeavored to break them in their retreat; but were so well received by the British guards, and major-general Zastrow of the Hanoverian troops, that the regiment of Noailles * was almost destroyed, and the carabineers had thirty two officers killed.

As the Dutch had attempted nothing material on the left, it was then resolved by the confederate generals, that the whole army should retire; for which purpose the commanding officers of lieutenant-general Howard's regiment, and of the highlanders, were ordered to post themselves, the former in the church-yard of Vefont, and the latter in the hedges where they had been posted the day before. The cavalry were likewise drawn up to secure the retreat; which was made in excellent order; the battalions fronted the French army every hundred paces; and there was not the least attempt made to disturb the confederates, if we credit the London Gazette of that time: but as the earl of Craufurd covered the retreat, his account of it must be indisputable, and is to the following effect.

There were at last a few British squadrons that got up, and passed the fort, through a dreadful fire, and a few of some other broken corps as they got rallied after passing the hollow way, so far as to be serviceable in facilitating the retreat of the infantry. The troops most advanced

* The count de Noailles was at the head of this regiment, of which the eldest of the family is always colonel; the only privilege of the

kind in France, and granted to the first marshal of the name of Noailles, who raised this regiment at his own expence.

were two squadrons of the blues, some of the Hanoverians and some few of the Dutch and Austrians belonging to the corps de reserve, who had not been broke by passing the hollow way ; because most of those that passed it had only got rallied, as most of those that advanced were coming back again in much greater haste than they went forward, breaking several of the British corps, that were rallied, so as never to recover again.

“ Without prejudice, says lord Craufurd, I declare, that I have too great reason to say, the Dutch dragoons led the way ; for I never had a greater risk than in being run over by them ; and, had not my horse been of prodigious strength, I must unavoidably have been trampled to death. I had just rallied the brigade of horse-guards, and was moving forwards, finding there was no cavalry got on by the flank of the second line, which had now lost some battalions that were carried elsewhere, as they came back upon us and broke us anew. With the assistance of my officers, who were very alert and willing, I had just got them a third time rallied, as all the cavalry that had been made to move forwards were coming back in confusion ; those that I saw return in the best order being the two squadrons of the blues, whom I begged to halt and rally by my horse-guards : but all those that attacked together also rallied together. It was impossible better could come of such a manœuvre, which was far from being a proper one, by the marching or allowing those squadrons to advance, and be beat by detail, if the retreat was not determined before they were allowed to do so ; because there were not numbers enough together to withstand any corps of the enemy's cavalry, who would hazard any thing with them : besides that it was impossible for sepa-

rate squadrons, not to call them broke, to hurry on with spirit, and to have that steadiness to stand long enough under the innumerable dropping shots, that I may avoid being called a Gascon by terming it a constant fire, led the plain from the croud of broken troops belonging to the enemy that covered their part of the plain; who, I believe, were not regularly rallied till we quitted it. They would even never have been rallied, had we, instead of cavalry by squadrons, sent forward our second line, making it to advance with intervals to let the broken battalions of the first fall back into the intervals of the line of cavalry; for by this way they would have been able to sustain our new first line; which I durst lay my life would have been more than sufficient to beat the French confused army, and the five or six battalions commanded by count Lowendahl, that, as the French themselves gave out, recovered the day during the last half hour. Count Lowendahl obtained those troops by representing to marshal Saxe that the Dutch did nothing, and that he would bring up all the battalions that were in St. Antoine; upon which representations, the king, allowed the count de Saxe to make his last effort; which still, without providence in his favor, he could not have successfully done even as affairs were managed. For two Swiss officers in the French army, and who had been at the battle, told monsieur de Camp at Argen, that to shew what accidents are in gaining a victory, they could assure him it was affirmed in the French army, that had not the officer who was sent to set the windmill on fire, which was the signal of retreat, neglected to do it, they would certainly have left us masters of the field: but this officer either hearkened to the prayers of the miller and his family, as there
might

might be no occasion to do it ; or else he was induced by some favorable appearance at that instant, and being an intelligent man might become the instrument of gaining a battle, which a person of less prudence might have thrown away. If once the windmill had been set on fire, it would have happened with the French as with us ; there would have been no probability of stopping an army that had once got the signal of retreat, as our's did by a DAMNED DRUM BEATING A RETREAT ; ordered by whom I never could learn ; a thing that ought never to be done, as long as any other signal can be devised." His lordship farther observes, that " had we been joined with the remains of Zastrow's corps, upon our right flank with this, and the least motion upon the side of the Dutch, we must have made a victory unquestionable. And I have been assured, from very good hands, that had we upon the right wing been able to have only kept the field a little longer, prince Waldeck was disposing of five or six regiments of Dutch wherein he confided most for a dernier-effort, whom he was to have conducted himself, and which I am persuaded would have had the desired effect*."

* This is confirmed generally by M. Voltaire in his account of the battle ; particularly where he acknowledges " the battle seemed to be past all hopes ; that the French were bringing back their field-pieces from every side ; and had even began to send off the train." He farther remarks, " that if the Dutch had advanced between the redoubts of Bettens, and acted vigorously in conjunction with the English, the battle would have been lost beyond

all recovery, and there would have been no retreat, either for the army ; or, in all probability, for the king and his son. The success of a last attack was dubious ; but marshal Saxe, knowing that a victory or an entire defeat depended upon this attempt, thought of preparing a safe retreat, while he was attempting to obtain the victory. The French despaired of the success of the day ; but the greatest events depend upon trivial circumstances."

The retreat began about two in the afternoon, soon after the cavalry retired that had been made to advance ; which was occasioned by the DRUM beating the retreat, perhaps before he should have done it. Hereby is meant the retreat of the body of the army ; for that of the first line happened long before ; but several of them rallied, and were either in the rear, or got into the second line : however, the drums beating, and the cavalry breaking as they retired in several places, as well as the second line of infantry, a good pretence was thereby given to all the corps that had suffered much, or others that were beginning to grow tired of the affair, to retreat, who needed only such a reason to follow the example of others, and therefore took opportunity to get out of danger. Yet it was very well they were to be rallied in and about Vefont, where his Royal Highness the DUKE and general Ligonier, with great judgment, posted them in the most advantageous way the ground and the hurry all were in would permit.

As the earl of Craufurd had the honor to bring up the right wing out of the plain until they entered Vefont, with the brigade of horse-guards, and the remains of the battalions of Skelton and Cholmondeley, his lordship was astonished it was so long before the enemy came in sight in their pursuit ; that is, any considerable corps of their army ; for there were quickly a considerable number of grassins that kept upon his lordship's flank ; but durst not enter the plain, to pillage the dead and wounded, till he retired. From thence his lordship inferred the enemy were in great confusion, and must be a considerable time before they could rally their people, though their assailants were gone ; being so long in moving even their advanced corps upon the edge of the rising ground, where they could easily

easily observe every motion made by the allies. However, the French at last began to advance so briskly, that lord Craufurd thought it necessary to make some platoons of volunteers advance from his infantry to keep their most advanced parties and stragglers in respect. In this manner he retired through the village of Vefont, without any accident, taking with him the highlanders, who had been left lining the most advanced hedge-rows.

As soon as lord Craufurd got through the village of Vefont, he observed Sir John Ligonier ranging troops upon the rising ground overlooking the village; when his lordship asked that general, if it was determined to maintain the post of Vefont? because, if that was to be done, there would be a great many troops necessary below in the village, wherein considerable numbers were observed coming down through the woods: whereupon the general after exchanging a few shot, withdrew his troops from the village.

Immediately after his Royal Highness the DUKE sent his orderly cornet to Sir John Ligonier, with orders to dispose a rear-guard, so as to cover the retreat of the whole army, artillery and baggage, under the cannon of Aeth; which was happily executed.

The allies, after their retreat, returned to their camp at Bruffoel; which they quitted the same night about eleven o'clock, and marched directly to the camp at Lessines near Aeth, in Hainault. They left most of the wounded at the head-quarters at Bruffoel, upon the confidence of the cartel, and the usual behavior upon such occasions: notwithstanding which they were inhumanly treated by the French, who carried them to Lille and Douay without dressing their wounds, and without a supply of necessities;

which occasioned the death of many officers and soldiers, and was highly resented by the confederates.

Marshal Konigseck was greatly hurt by a fall from his horse, and much fatigued; therefore after the army was out of the defiles, he went to Aeth, where he arrived in the evening: but his Royal Highness the DUKE kept constantly with the right of the army, and did not reach Aeth untill three in the morning, when the whole army encamped in that neighbourhood.

Such was the decision of this memorable battle: but although the confederates were defeated in their attempt, it was neither owing to want of conduct in their generals, or of courage in their soldiers; the former directing the whole engagement with all imaginable prudence, and the latter executing it with incredible bravery.

The loss sustained by the confederates, was proportional to the bravery of the attempt. The British troops suffered the most, having lost one colonel, five lieutenant-colonels, ten captains, seventeen lieutenants, twelve ensigns, thirty five serjeants, and one thousand one hundred and fifty eight private men, killed of their infantry*; as

“ *The infantry of the right wing has behaved very well, and suffered terribly on this occasion. The behavior of the blue-guards is highly to be commended. The first battalion of guards remained the whole day without being once put into confusion, though they lost many brave officers as well as private men. The highland regiment; the regiment late Handasyde's; Duroure's, and many others, also distinguished themselves. The honor gained by the infantry was in a great measure owing to the conduct and bravery of lieutenant-general Ligonier: and major-general Zaf-

throw and lord Albemarle did all that could be expected from brave and experienced officers.” Lond. Gaz. May 11, 1745. Lord Craufurd conducted the retreat in excellent order, till his troops came to the pass where he ordered them to file off from the right, when he pulled off his hat and returned them thanks, saying, that they had acquired as much honor in covering so great a retreat, as if they had gained the battle. This fine retreat was highly commended by the whole army, and when several officers complimented Sir John Ligonier the next day upon it, he answered with great
also

also six colonels, seven lieutenant-colonels, seven majors, thirty eight captains, forty four lieutenants, thirty four ensigns, seventy eight serjeants, and seventeen hundred and forty five men wounded : besides seventeen officers and three hundred and fifty eight men missing. Of the British cavalry only one cornet and one quarter-master were killed ; with eighty four private men : but among the wounded were four lieutenant-colonels, one major, seven captains, two lieutenants, seven cornets, five quartermasters, and one hundred and eighty three private men ; besides some missing. Of the artillery ten were killed, twenty three wounded, and six missing. So that there were forty six officers, and two thousand and three men killed ; one hundred and thirty six officers, and one thousand eight hundred and forty-six men wounded ; besides several missing among the foot ; which, together with the loss sustained by the cavalry, has been reckoned in the gazette at four thousand and forty one men killed and wounded with six hundred and twenty-nine horses : but my account is more accurate than that gazette.

The Hanoverian infantry were diminished by one thousand four hundred and thirty two men, the cavalry lost three hundred and eleven men, and the artillery nineteen ; in all one thousand seven hundred and sixty two men ; besides the loss of four hundred and seventy five horses *. The Dutch infantry lost fourteen hundred men ; their cavalry one hundred and forty three men ; in all one thousand five hundred and forty three men ; besides three hun-

generosity and candor, that "the whole honor of it was due to lord Crauford."

* "The Hanover troops, as

well cavalry as infantry, have had their share with us in the danger, fatigues and loss." Lond. Gaz.

died

dred and sixty two horses *: and the Austrians lost four hundred and twenty men so that the loss of the allies was seven thousand seven hundred and sixty seven men, either killed, wounded, or taken prisoners; besides the loss of about forty pieces of cannon, which were left behind by the negligence and timidity of the drivers. But it is very remarkable that the French did not take a single pair of colors, to wave as a trophy through the gates of Paris †.

The principal British officers among the slain, and those that afterwards died of their wounds, were, Sir James Campbell, knight of the Bath, lieutenant-general, colonel of the Scotch greys, and governor of Edinburgh castle; who had his leg shot off by a cannon-ball, and died as he was putting into a litter, aged seventy eight, and remarkable for his gallant behavior at the battle of Malplaquet in 1709. Major-general Ponsonby, brother to the earl of Besborough, killed on the spot. Colonel Carpenter; lieutenant-colonel Douglas, brother to the earl of Morton; lieutenant-colonel Frazer; and ensign Sir Alexander Cockburne; all of the foot-guards. Lieutenant-co-

* "Prince Waldeck, on the left, behaved with his usual bravery." *ibid.*

† "We have not lost any colors, standards, or kettle drums; but have taken one standard: and the cannon lost was left behind for want of horses, the contractors with the artillery having run off with them so early, that they reached Brussels that day." *Ibid.*

Such was the real loss among the confederates: but a certain futile writer says, that "on the side of the allies were killed about 4041 men." If he had looked at the gazette, he could not have fallen into such a wretched mistake. With the

same inaccuracy he ventures to assert, that "the Austrians lost 830; so that the whole loss on the side of the confederates, amounted to 8177 killed, 8000 wounded, and 2000 taken prisoners." Excellently calculated! but for what purpose! was it to aggrandize the prowess of the French king, or the bravery of the DUKE of CUMBERLAND, that he makes the number of the allies killed, wounded and prisoners amount to eighteen thousand one hundred and seventy seven men, when, in fact, they were only seven thousand seven hundred and sixty seven?

lonel Whitmore of Duroure's regiment; lieutenant-colonel Gee of Bligh's regiment, who had distinguished himself at Dettingen; lieutenant-colonel Montagu of Handasyd's regiment; and lieutenant-colonel Clements of Johnson's regiment; with ten captains, seventeen lieutenants, one cornet, and ten ensigns. Among the wounded were the earl of Albemarle, who was also rode over and bruised; major-general Howard, in four places; the brigadier-generals Churchill and Ingoldsbys; lord Ancram, and lord Cathcart, aides de camp to the DUKE of CUMBERLAND; lord George Sackville, lord Charles Hay, and colonel Duroure: besides fifteen lieutenant-colonels, eight majors, forty three captains, fifty four lieutenants, twenty nine ensigns, and six cornets. There were also one major, seven captains, eight lieutenants, and one cornet taken prisoners.

As many of those gentlemen who were killed were greatly regretted at that time; and as many of those who were wounded afterwards obtained great military honors, under the auspices of the DUKE of CUMBERLAND; it would be thought unjust to the memory of the one, and ungenerous to the merit of the other, if their names were suffered to pass unnoticed, when their services intitled them to the honor of historical distinction. It is hoped the following curious and authentic list, as returned to his Royal Highness the DUKE, will preserve the memories of those heroes who perished in the fight, as also of those who survived the danger of their wounds, and transmit their glorious acts as a faithful record to their posterity.

INFANTRY

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I N F A N T R Y.

First Regiment of GUARDS : his Royal Highness the
DUKE of CUMBERLAND, colonel.

KILLED. Captains Hervey, Berkeley, Brereton ; ensign
Sir Alexander Cockburn ; three serjeants, and eighty two
private men.

WOUNDED. Lieutenant-colonel lord CHARLES HAY ;
captains Hildesley, Parker, Pearson, Bockland ; ensigns
Nash and Vane ; nine serjeants, and one hundred and
thirty three private.

Second Regiment of GUARDS : the earl of ALBEMARLE
colonel.

KILLED. Ensigns Cathcart and Molesworth ; two ser-
jeants, one hundred and ten private.

WOUNDED. Colonels Needham, Corbet, Kellet, MOYS-
TYN, lord ROBERT BERTIE ; captains TOWNSHEND
and CESAR ; ensigns Burton and Vanbrugh ; four
serjeants, and one hundred and twelve private.

Third Regiment of GUARDS : the earl of DUNMORE,
colonel.

KILLED. Colonel Carpenter ; lieutenant colonel Dou-
glas ; captain Ross ; ensign Murray ; three serjeants ;
and one hundred and two private.

WOUNDED. Lieutenant-colonels WALDEGRAVE, and
Frazer ; captains Lawrie, Knevis, and Maitland ;
ensigns HALDANE and Nell ; five serjeants, one hun-
dred and twenty six private.

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I. Regiment of Foot, ROYAL NORTH BRITISH: major-general St. CLAIR, colonel.

KILLED. Two serjeants, eighty five private.

WOUNDED. Captains Thomson and Edmonston; lieutenants Cockburn, Nairn, ELLIOT, Abernethy, and Grant; ensign Jones; five serjeants, and seventy eight private.

MISSING. Eight private.

III. Lieutenant-general HOWARD's.

KILLED. Quarter-master Cummins; one serjeant, ten private.

WOUNDED. Lieutenant Tanner; ensign Paunceford; thirty-two private.

MISSING. Eight private.

VIII. ONSLOW's, the king's own regiment.

KILLED. Sixteen private men.

WOUNDED. Lieutenant-colonel Keightly; major Gray, captains Dallons, Loftus and Ekins; lieutenants Cook and Thomson; two serjeants; eighty one private.

MISSING. One serjeant, thirty private.

XI. Colonel SOWLE's regiment.

KILLED. Captain Brawn; lieutenants Capel and Mowbray; ensign Farrington; forty nine private.

WOUNDED. Lieutenant-colonel Tullikins; major Montague; six serjeants, one hundred and six private.

MISSING. Lieutenant Hackshaw; two serjeants, forty four private.

XII. DUROURE's regiment.

KILLED. Lieutenant-colonel Whitmore; captain Campbell; lieutenants Bockland and Laine; ensigns Cannon and

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and Clifton; five serjeants, one hundred and forty eight private.

WOUNDED. Colonel Duroure; major Coffely; captains Rainsford and Robinson; lieutenants Murray, Townshend, Millington, and Delgarne; ensigns Dagers and Pearse; seven serjeants, one hundred and forty two private.

MISSING. Captain DE COSNE; captain-lieutenant Gulston; lieutenant Salt.

XIII. PULTENEY's regiment.

KILLED. Captain Queenchant; two serjeants, thirty five private.

WOUNDED. Captain-lieutenant Nicholas; lieutenants Jones and Edhouse; two serjeants, thirty five private.

MISSING. Ten private.

XIX. Major-general HOWARD's regiment.

KILLED. Lieutenant le Grand; ensign Gibson; seventeen private.

WOUNDED. Major PETITOT; captains Cochran and Douglas; lieutenant COTE; ensigns Cheape, Martin, and Peterfield; one serjeant, sixty nine private.

MISSING. Thirteen private.

XX. BLIGH's regiment.

KILLED. Lieutenant-colonel Gee; one serjeant, twenty seven private.

WOUNDED. Captains Meyrack and MAXWELL; lieutenants Bouchitiere and Vickers; ensign Hartley; one serjeant, thirty four private.

XXI. Royal

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XXI. Royal North British FUZILEERS ; major-general
CAMPBELL, colonel.

KILLED. Lieutenants Campbell, Houston and Serjeant ;
one serjeants, two private.

WOUNDED. Major COLVILLE ; captains Latan, Olivant,
and Knatchbull ; lieutenants Colville, Bollenden,
M'Gacken and Townsend ; seven serjeants, one hun-
dred and thirty seven private.

MISSING. Captain Sandilands, lieutenant Stuart, quar-
ter-master Stuart ; three serjeants, one hundred and
twenty private.

XXIII. Royal Welch FUZILEERS ; brigadier-general
HUSKE, colonel.

KILLED. Lieutenants Weaver, Pryce, Forster and Isaac ;
four serjeants, one hundred and eighty one private.

WOUNDED. Captains Hickman, Cary and Drysdale ;
lieutenants Bernard, Izard, Awbry, Clarke, EYRE,
Roberts and Rolt ; six serjeants, seventy one private.

MISSING. Major Lort ; captains Sabine, Taylor, and
Johnston ; lieutenant Berners, * Grigg, Haws and
Lort ; five serjeants, thirty four private.

XXV. Earl of ROTHES's regiment.

KILLED. Ensign Bonvillette ; two serjeants, fifty two
private.

WOUNDED. Lieutenant-colonel Kennedy ; major Dal-
rymple ; captains WORGE and Lucas ; lieutenants

* He was terribly wounded,
and afterwards made a commissary,
but lost his rank. I drew up his
case to lord Ligonier, who menti-

oned it to the DUKE of CUMBER-
LAND, and Mr. Berners had a gen-
teel appointment.

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Livingston and Hoy : ensigns Cockburn and Jones : four serjeants, seventy two private.

XXVIII. BRAGG's regiment.

KILLED. Lieutenant Cliffe : two serjeants, fourteen private.

WOUNDED. Lieutenant-colonel lord GEORGE SACKVILLE : captain Fitzgerald, Jocelyn, and Holt : lieutenants Wright, Edgeworth and Graydon : ensigns Harman and Nicholson : sixty five private men.

MISSING. Captain Saily : one serjeant, forty four private.

XXXI. HANDASYD's regiment.

KILLED. Lieutenant-colonel Montagu : captains Baird and Pollock : lieutenant Dalway : four serjeants, one hundred and twenty five private.

WOUNDED. Lieutenants Stafford and Porter : ensigns Worsley, Bromley, and Freeman : six serjeants, one hundred and thirty private.

MISSING. Twelve private,

XXXII. SKELTON's regiment.

KILLED. Two serjeants, fourteen private.

WOUNDED. Lieutenants Lindsay, Mellin and Banks : second lieutenants How and Prescott : five serjeants, ninety five private.

MISSING. Captain Farquhar : seventeen private.

XXXIII. JOHNSON's regiment.

KILLED. Lieutenant-colonel Clements : lieutenants Greene, Colley and Houghton : ensign Nesbit : forty two private.

WOUNDED. Major Mure : captains Godfrey, Lacey, Eccles and Tighe : lieutenants Gardiner, Burrough, Otway,

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Qtway and Gore : ensigns Rayner, Collis, Samson and Descury : four serjeants, eighty four private.

MISSING. Two serjeants, twenty eight private.

XXXIV. CHOLMONDELEY's regiment.

KILLED. One serjeant, seventeen private.

WOUNDED. Lieutenants Cramer, Forest, Mure, Courtney and Hargrove ; ensigns Donallen and Stacey : two serjeants, fifty three private.

MISSING. One serjeant, twenty seven private.

XLIII. Lord SEMPL's regiment of highlanders.

KILLED. Captain John Campbell : ensign Lachlan Campbell : thirty private.

WOUNDED. Captain Robert Campbell : ensigns Renald Campbell and James Campbell : two serjeants, eighty six private.

MISSING. One serjeant, twelve private.

C A V A L R Y.

Third troop of GUARDS : the earl of ALBEMARLE, colonel.

KILLED. Four men, ten horses.

WOUNDED. Lieutenant-colonel Lamelionere (who was also wounded at Dettingen, see p. 72) fourteen men, and fourteen horses.

Fourth troop of GUARDS : the earl of CRAWFURD, colonel.

KILLED. Two men, four horses.

WOUNDED. Captain Hilgrove : cornet Burdet : twelve men, three horses.

MISSING. Three horses.

R

Second,

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Second, or Scotch, troop of Grenadier GUARDS; lord
TYRAWLEY, colonel.

KILLED. Four men, three horses.

WOUNDED. Major Brereton: captains ELLIOT and
Burton: adjutant Thacker: ten men, seven horses.

MISSING. Two horses.

Royal regiment of Horse GUARDS blue: the earl of
HERTFORD, colonel.

KILLED. Ten men, seventy nine horses.

WOUNDED. Lieutenant-colonel Beake: captain Lloyd:
captain-lieutenant Migget: quarter-masters Hudson
and Bur: thirty nine men; sixty two horses.

I. KING's Regiment: Sir PHILIP HONEYWOOD, colonel.

KILLED. Seven men, twenty horses.

WOUNDED. Lieutenant Brace: four men, six horses.

MISSING. One horse.

VII. EIGONIER's regiment.

KILLED. Two men, sixteen horses.

WOUNDED. Quarter-master Heath: four men, six horses.

MISSING. One horse.

I. Royal Dragoons: general HAWLEY, colonel.

KILLED. Fourteen men, fifty seven horses.

WOUNDED. Lieutenant-colonel Naizon: cornets Hart-
well, Desmeret, and Creighton: thirty one men, forty
seven horses.

MISSING. One man, twelve horses.

H. Royal North British Dragoons: Sir JAMES
CAMPBELL, colonel.

KILLED. Fourteen men, twenty five horses.

WOUNDED.

WOUNDED. Cornet Glasgo: eleven men, thirty three horses.

MISSING. One non-commissioned officer.

III. King's own regiment of Dragoons; general BLAND, colonel.

KILLED. Nine men: twenty eight horses.

WOUNDED. Captain Wade; quarter-master Corbidge: fourteen men, thirty four horses.

MISSING. Cornet Bland, two non commissioned officers, five men, and twenty three horses.

VI. The Inniskilling regiment: the earl of STAIR, colonel.

KILLED. Quarter-master Baird: three men, nineteen horses.

WOUNDED. Eleven men, seven horses.

VII. QUEEN'S regiment: Sir JOHN COPE, colonel.

KILLED. Cornet Potts: ten men: forty six horses.

WOUNDED. Lieutenant-colonel Erskine: captain-lieutenant Ogilvie: lieutenant Forbes: cornet Maitland: quarter-master Smith: thirty five men, forty seven horses.

MISSING. One man, two horses.

A R T I L L E R Y.

KILLED. Lieutenant Bennett: one serjeant, one gunner, seven mattrasses.

WOUNDED. One conductor: two serjeants, one corporal, six gunners, thirteen mattrasses.

MISSING. Two gunners, fourteen mattrasses.

The principal Hanoverian officers that fell in the battle were, colonel d'Acere; the lieutenant-colonels de Bulow,

de Bruch, and Brunk; four captains, three lieutenants, one cornet, and three ensigns. Among the wounded were major-general Zastrow and brigadier Boelager, one colonel, three lieutenant-colonels, two majors, fourteen captains, twenty two lieutenants, eleven cornets, and ten ensigns.

Among the Dutch, the principal officers killed, were, brigadier-general Salis, the colonels Van Linden and Van Ryffel; lieutenant colonel Van Boettelaer; two majors, three captains, and eleven subalterns. Among the wounded were brigadier Effern, two colonels, one lieutenant-colonel, ten captains, and twenty-nine subalterns.

The French purchased this advantage very dearly: but their king and his ministers were extremely cautious in concealing their loss, which they represented to be five hundred and twenty officers, and only four thousand men killed and wounded; while they exaggerated the loss of the confederates to fourteen thousand. Indeed, so careful were the court of Versailles in suppressing any genuine relation of their loss, that an arret was published, by the parliament of Paris, denouncing imprisonment, banishment, and even the galleys, to those who should have the presumption of publishing any particulars, which the court should judge improper to be scattered through the provinces of France; because the ministry dreaded that, unless such a prohibition was made, the compilers of the news would have spread too unwelcome truths among the inhabitants. However, it has been generally confessed, that the French had no less than six thousand men killed, and three thousand wounded in the battle; which has all the appearance of an incontestible truth, as well from the certificate on the muster-rolls, transmitted

transmitted to Lille and Douay a week after the battle, by which it was seen that the French army had lost nineteen thousand three hundred and forty seven men since the beginning of the engagement; as also from the number of their officers killed, and the list of promotions immediately after the battle *.

The principal officers among the French, either killed or mortally wounded in this fatal battle, were; the duke de Grammont, lieutenant-general and colonel of the French guards, who conducted the troops to the attack at Dettingen: the lieutenant-generals de Bomballes, d'Archer, de Menestrel, de Luttreux: the major-generals de Clifton, de Saumery, and Monechuan: the brigadiers marquis de Langey, de Craon, and de Clifton; the baron de la Peyre; the chevaliers de Suzy and de Chevaliers. Among the wounded were the lieutenant-general comte de Baviere: the major-generals de Chevert, the marquis d'Anlezy, Descajeuls, and la Rocque: the brigadiers duc de Havre, Daurès, de Crenay, le Peyrouse, la Sene, de Greinot, de Gault, la Perne, Langey, Lambelly, St. Saver, Pouden, de Monaco, de Guesclin, Rubempre, Vise, Villars, la Beaume, Longuany, Puilegur, and the two chevaliers de Champignally: the colonels de Mezieres, la Brosse, Maillet, Bourbonville, Bizet, marquis de Roset, de Longuet, and seven more; besides a prodigious

* One inaccurate writer says, "the French had 15000 men killed, and 2000 wounded;" but this is quite fabulous. Yet it is somewhat strange that even M. Voltaire, who says, "he had entered into a long detail concerning the battle of Fontenoy, because it's importance deserved it," should give no account of the loss which the French suf-

tained; especially as by one of his letters, in a literary course of correspondence with which I have been honoured by that writer, he particularly informs me, as relative to both our histories of that war, that "as CROWN HISTORIAN he was entitled to make use of the royal archives."

number of other officers, who were natives of France. But the Irish brigade suffered more severely, for among them were killed colonel Dillon, three lieutenant-colonels, thirteen captains, and nine lieutenants: they had wounded, colonel LALLY, one lieutenant-colonel, two majors, nineteen captains, and twenty-eight lieutenants; exclusive of twenty-five officers, killed or wounded, in Fitz James's horse.

No history produces a more animated detail of the strength and courage of the common soldiers, than in that of the British infantry in this engagement; who, though under the disadvantages of being unsupported by the cavalry, and after having stood for more than three hours the continual fire of three terrible batteries, could drive the French, though superior in numbers, from their lines into their camp; after which, when thinned in their ranks, tired with slaughter, and almost sinking beneath their wounds, could break the same troops, and drive them before them, a second time, though reinforced by seven new battalions*.

The advantages of the French may be justly attributed to their greater knowledge of the art of war, their superiority in numbers, the prodigious force of their artillery, and the advantage of the ground, which they had improved to the utmost every where. Let us therefore no longer wonder that the confederates were repulsed; let us rather admire the invincible valor of an army that dared, against so many disadvantages, attempt the overthrow of such an enemy. The French themselves generously com-

* Four squadrons of gens d'arms, arrived from Douay, and immediately engaged the enemy, with the brigade of life-guards; but these corps

were received like the rest, with the same intrepidity and the same running fire." Voltaire.

mended the bravery of both the British and Hanoverian troops at Fontenoy, where they attacked and advanced with an amazing intrepidity in the face of whole batteries, which fired at once directly into their battalions, sweeping down whole ranks *, without being able to break them : therefore the resolution of such an attack will not appear to be prompted either by impatience or temerity†.

If marshal Saxe had lost the day, it would have been very difficult for him to have retired a-cross the river by his bridges, with that numerous army he had against the allies, without his suffering prodigiously if they pleased to act contrary to what they had yet done throughout the war, and push any advantage they might gain ; which, considering those they had at their head, they would have done ; for joining with the garrison at Tournay, what might not their victorious army expect ? France certainly then hazarded a dangerous game ; her king being at the head of the only army he had towards these quarters, not above four or five days march from his capital. Here lord Craufurd observes, “ It may be likewise said we hazarded our all : but, I affirm, it was the only risk we had to run that could save either the loss of Flanders or Brabant. It may be asserted, that we should not have hazarded a battle, but have distressed and observed the motions of marshal Saxe ; though I answer to that, we should then have

* “ The batteries galled the English most terribly, as they advanced, the ground being not above 400 fathoms in breadth. Whole ranks dropped down to the right and left ; but they were instantly filled up, and marched boldly on. Voltaire.

† M. Voltaire says, when the DUKE of CUMBERLAND, took the resolution of forcing his way be-

tween the redoubts of the woods of Barry and Fontenoy, that “ the enterprise seemed temerarious : because, in this attempt, his Royal Highness had a deep hollow way to pass, exposed to the cannon of the redoubt ; and he had the French army to fight on the other side of the hollow way.”

just lost to the enemy what we did, without ever running the risk of having it in our power to save the country; because the moment monsieur de Saxe had taken Tournay, his army, still growing greater, must have still been more masters, than when we gave him battle; and would I make no doubt, over and over again have offered it us; when we could not have so good a pretence, as we had after losing a battle, so often to avoid it, as I am persuaded we must, from one reason or other, have been brought to do; though I will also grant it would have been very much against his Royal Highness's inclinations. But was it to be imagined we could foretel all the great consequences that seem as if they hung upon the fortune of that day; for what we know we may say the fate of kingdoms? was it then possible for us to change, as it were, the course of nature? no! all we were permitted to do we did, and that was to retire in tolerable order, after *MARITIME* *SUCCESS*; an honor our enemies do not grudge us."

As it was highly probable the allies might have succeeded in their attempt, it is unjust to charge that attempt with rashness*; especially when it is remembered, that prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough encountered the same difficulties at the battle of Malplaquet in 1709; when, after the loss of eighteen thousand three hundred and fifty three men †, they obliged the marshals Villars and Boufflers to retire, and leave Mons, the prize for which they contended, to fall into the hands

* "The Duke of Cumberland's courage was too warm, and the confidence of the English too great to listen to advice." Voltaire.

† "The French lost about 8000 men in this battle, whilst the enemy

had about 21,000 killed or wounded, for the centre having been forced, and the two wings broken through, the vanquished had made the greatest slaughter." Voltaire's age of Louis XIV. vol. I. p. 381.

of the victorious confederates, who had taken Tournay a short time before. Therefore the event of the battle at Fontenoy might have been equally glorious with that of Malplaquet; the attempt being equally brave and laudable for the decision of so valuable a prize as Tournay, which had the same probability of seeing the confederates victors, as Mons formerly had, if the Dutch forces had behaved with the same spirit and bravery as they did at Malplaquet*, where they lost above eight thousand men.

Lord Craufurd remarks, concerning the retreat under the cannon of Aeth, that it was done, "to get into a camp of safety; since we did not choose to attack them again the next morning before the break of day; which, at present, so much as only to suggest, must appear very extraordinary; but which will appear more so when I say that, upon conditions, I do not know but we might have done it with success. For could we have prevailed upon the Dutch to have exchanged ground with our troops, giving us a solemn promise, and to have kept up to it, to have attacked the enemy before break of day from our ground between the Bois-de Barry and Fontenoy, with as much vigor as we should do from the place where they attacked, it might have given another face to affairs. But there is no end to suggestions when we allow our imaginations to rove that way; therefore I will end this tedious description with only one thing more, which I must not neglect, as I think it speaks much in our favor: it is, that I dare venture to affirm, never did a conquered

* This is sometimes called the battle of Teniers, as also of Blagnies, from villages near the field of action. The French were encamped in a wood, where they had cut down the trees, and thrown up a triple entrenchment for their defence.

army retire with a lower notion of the army that beat them, than our right wing did; nor ever was there a victorious army that had a higher idea of a parcel of people they had defeated.

As for the confederate generals, their military courage, skill, and resolution were manifested to be worthy of their command. The prince of Waldeck shewed his usual ardor and intrepidity; and marshal Konigseck nobly supported that illustrious character he had gloriously acquired. But the personal actions of the DUKE of CUMBERLAND were every where such as a nation, zealous for its honor, would wish its prince. In the moment of the general attack, his Royal Highness was found at the head of the lines, leading them up directly to the enemy: in the time of action, he was vigilantly employed in sending reinforcements to the weaker parts; assisting and pushing to the utmost the advantages he had gained; recovering and rallying the disheartened troops; and inspiring them, as much by his example as his words, to act like what they were, ENGLISHMEN, his fellow-soldiers and native countrymen, the best and bravest troops in the world! his Royal Highness was every where exposed as much as the common soldier; and in the midst of the greatest disorder, confusion, and most imminent danger; constantly in the heat of the battle encouraging the men, rallying them when broken, and leading them to the charge, with equal calmness and intrepidity. This was the true character of his Royal Highness, with all who saw him in the scene of action, where some shared his bounties, while others admired his bravery. He could not with his own hand have rewarded the trooper * who

* Who having lost his horse, fought in his boots among the foot.

chose to do any services, rather than be idle in a day of such importance, at the very time of that service, unless he also had been present at it : nor could his Royal Highness have cheered the highlander *, by a promise of something better than the arm he saw drop from him, unless he had also shared the glory and the danger of that dreadful hour.

The defeat of the confederates at Fontenoy, seems to be extremely similar to the defeat of Cæsar at Dyrrachium, who says, " that Pompey's party did not respect, as the cause of all this, the fewness of his men, nor the disadvantage of the place, and the streightness thereof : nor yet the army divided into two parts, in such a manner as neither of them were able to assist the other : neither did they add to this, that the fight was not made by any valiant encounter, or in form of battle, on their side ; but that his men received more hurt from the narrowness of the place, and from their own disorder, than from the enemy." But the confederate generals might have said to marshal Saxe, what Antiochus confessed to Scipio, " though their troops were repulsed, they were not intimidated."

The noble author of a Latin elegy, wrote partly on this occasion, has some beautiful lines on the subject, which I have translated as following :

" This memorable slaughter shall remain
The British glory, to the latest reign :
This slaughter, where like victors Britons fought,
And Gallia's lilies almost suppliant brought.
But, in their heat of glory, ah ! they die
Unaided ; they retreat, but scorn to fly†."

* Who with his broad sword stroke at the tenth, had his left killed nine men, and in making a arm shot off.

† After which, we may conclude with our great Poet ;

" And those that leave their valiant bones in France

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The French treated the wounded English with great inhumanity, and killed several of them who asked for quarter; nor was the English prisoners treated with any degree of generosity. Marshal Saxe, immediately after the battle, sent to the allies, to desire they would carry off their wounded; accordingly the DUKE of CUMBERLAND sent an hundred and five waggons to bring them away: but both waggons and men were detained, contrary to the laws of nations and of arms, with regard to the carriages at least. At last, the British surgeons were permitted to pass to their regiments, and waited on his Royal Highness on their arrival at the camp, when they laid before him the cruel manner in which the British and Hanoverian prisoners were treated, and presented him with a bag of chewed bullets, points of swords, pieces of flint, glass, iron, and other destructive implements extracted from their wounds. Upon this, a trumpet was sent from the allied army to the French monarch, with a coffer, sealed with the arms of the DUKE of CUMBERLAND, prince Waldeck, marshal Königseck, and baron Wéndt, filled with pieces of thick glass, brass and iron buttons, all bloody, that were taken out of the wounds of lieutenant-general Campbell and other officers; accompanied with a letter from his Royal Highness, importing, that "the most cruel and barbarous nations never made use of such pernicious weapons, in carrying on the most violent war." Upon the receipt of this letter, and the sight of these dismal relics, the French

Dying like men, though buried in your dunghills,
They shall be fam'd; for there the sun shall greet them,
And draw their honors reeking up to heav'n."

SHAKESPEARE'S king Henry V. act IV. scene 9.

monarch

monarch turned pale, and afterwards quitted the room, to avoid expressing his sentiments: for he was sensible these proceedings were new and extravagant, scarce ever heard of among barbarians; therefore not to be expected, or scarce to be credited, when reported of the French, who prize themselves so much on behaving with honor in all things, especially in war, which, as well as peace, has its laws, intended, practised, and submitted to by the bravest and most civilized nations, who esteem the neglect of such laws as the most infamous mark of barbarity*.

Indeed, the true reason for the cruelty of the French, may justly be attributed to the detention of marshal Belleisle and his brother in England. The confederates took it for granted, that the cartel of Frankfort, which had been in force the two preceding campaigns, was still so now; and expected the prisoners would be immediately released in pursuance thereof: but the French declared, that his Britannic majesty had first violated the cartel in the confinement of marshal Belleisle and his brother, and the refusal of their ransom. This was confirmed to the DUKE OF CUMBERLAND, upon his writing to count de Saxe about an exchange of prisoners; for the marshal answered his Royal Highness "That charity and humanity engaged his most Christian majesty to give orders that the British and Hanoverian prisoners should be taken care of; but that he would keep them in his pri-

* M. Voltaire acknowledges to Mont, died with their bodies so swollen that they were ready to burst; the unfortunate men being emphatically by the poisonous implements that occasioned their miserable wounds.

sons, forts, and citadels, until the king of Great Britain did him justice with regard to the arresting of marshal Belleisle and his brother, who were detained in England contrary to the faith of the cartel: but not having the same reasons of complaint against the States-General, he had ordered the Dutch prisoners to be set at liberty, which had been done accordingly." The French acted up to this resolution; for neither the British nor Hanoverian prisoners were admitted to the benefit of the cartel, until after the releasement of marshal Belleisle and his brother, which was deferred till August, when the marshal repaired to the French army, and represented to the king the polite and honorable treatment he met with in England: whereupon his majesty gave immediate orders for releasing the English and Hanoverian prisoners; which were the provisional terms agreed upon for the discharge of those two eminent French generals.

The reduction of Tournay was the necessary consequence of the battle of Fontenoy. The French now found themselves at liberty to push on the siege of this important place, without disturbance; they replanted their artillery, which had been drawn off to defend the avenues of their camp; and they redoubled their fire from two hundred pieces of cannon. Baron Dorth made a gallant defence until the twenty-first of May, when he hung out the white flag, and agreed upon a convention with marshal Saxe, whereby "one of the gates was to be given up to the French on the twenty-fourth, when the garrison were to retire into the citadel, and the city was to be entirely evacuated: leave was to be allowed the governor to send a courier to the States-General, to know their intentions with regard to the surrender of the citadel; the
king

king allowed him till the thirteenth of June to be informed of this ; and hostilities were to cease until that time."

The garrison retired into the citadel, until the pleasure of the States was signified to the governor ; and their High Mightinesses having referred the matter to the DUKE of CUMBERLAND, and the other confederate generals, orders were sent to the commandant to defend the citadel to the last extremity. Hostilities were recommenced ; the French made an incessant fire ; the garrison were reduced to five thousand three hundred men ; and obliged to capitulate on the tenth of June : they obtained leave to march out with the military honors ; but on the infamous condition, " not to bear arms against France for EIGHTEEN MONTHS."

From the battle of Dettingen to that of Fontenoy, France had proceeded in the most cautious manner ; as if more apprehensive of being subdued herself, than intent on subduing the allies, but having now the best assurances of the intractable conduct of the Dutch, the French made such dispositions to improve the opportunities which arose in their favor, that the war took a very different turn from what it hitherto had done. A continued series of ill success attended the confederates ; while the troops of France soon over-ran all the possessions of the house of Austria in the Netherlands.

The French army, after the surrender of Tournay, continued in their adjacent camp, until the fifteenth of June, while they were demolishing the fortifications of their new acquisition *: but after the dismantling of Tournay, the

* The Flemish antiquaries maintain that Tournay was built 600 years before Christ : however, it is certain that it was taken by Ju-

French advanced towards the confederate army at Lessines and Grammont, where it remained encamped since the battle of Fontenoy.

Upon the approach of the French, that part of the allied army encamped at Lessines moved to Grammont *; and the whole drew up in order of battle, expecting every hour to be attacked : but marshal Saxe had quite contrary intentions, having posted count Lowendahl, with fifteen thousand men, at Pont d'Espieres, with orders to advance secretly, and make a sudden attempt upon Ghent. The main body of the French army exchanged a few shot with the confederates, and retired : but seemed, by their future dispositions, as if they intended to surround the allies, and cut off their communication with Flanders and Brabant.

Though the confederate army was encamped in a proper situation to have prevented the French from passing the Scheld †, or obliging them to fight on ground where the cavalry of the allies might have an opportunity of acting ; yet a precipitate retreat was urged by the Dutch generals in such a positive manner, as if they had secret instructions for their conduct. The other generals of the allies, with

Julius Cæsar, after he had defeated the Nervii on the Sambre, as he tells us in the second book of his commentaries. After the destruction of the Roman empire, it followed the fortune of the rest of Flanders, and was taken from the French, in 1513, by our Henry VIII. who erected the first citadel : but it was restored to the French in 1518 ; and taken from them by the Spaniards in 1521. It was retaken by the French in 1667 ; and surrendered to the duke of Marlborough in 1709.

* A town of Austrian Flanders,

situated on the river Dender, 18 miles N. E. of Tournay, and 17 S. E. of Ghent.

† A river of the Low Countries, rising on the confines of Picardy in France, from whence it runs N. E. by Cambray, Tournay, Oudenard, and Ghent, where receiving the Lis, it runs E. by Dendermond, and then N. by Antwerp, below which it parts into two branches ; one of which runs through Berg-op-Zoom, and is called the eastern Scheld ; the other to Flushing, which is called the western Scheld : they both fall into the German sea.
much

much reluctance, acquiesced in a resolution absolutely prejudicial to their interest, and conspicuously advantageous to the French, who had fixed their whole attention to obtain the possession of all the Austrian Netherlands.

The confederate generals were extremely dubious whether to make the most advantageous retreat: for if they retired towards Brussels, they left Ghent and Bruges exposed, and thereby their communication with England cut off: and if they retired towards Ghent, they left Brussels and all Brabant exposed to the French. At last it was resolved to retire towards Brussels, and, on the twenty-seventh of June, they encamped at Anderlecht*, where they were advantageously encamped behind the canal of Brussels.

The confederate generals suspected that the French would make an attempt upon Ghent; and therefore dispatched baron Molck, lieutenant-general of the Hanoverian forces, with three squadrons of Sir Robert Rich's dragoons, three squadrons of Slipperbach's dragoons, and two squadrons of the regiments of Ligne and Styrum; with a battalion of the royal regiment of foot commanded by major-general St. Clair, the regiments of Bligh and Handasyde, and seven hundred hussars, in all four thousand men, to Alost†, to watch the motions of the French: but when it was confidently reported that count Lowendahl was advancing to Ghent, the DUKE OF CUMBERLAND, on the 28th of June, ordered baron Molck to march with his detachment, and secure that city. This

* A fortress of Brabant, two miles S. of Brussels, and intended as an outwork to that city.

† Or Aelst, a town of Austrian Flanders, seated on the Dender,

15 miles N. W. of Brussels, and as much S. E. of Ghent. It fell into the hands of the allies, after the battle of Ramillies, in 1706.

order was issued too late ; for count Lowendahl arrived in the vicinage of Ghent, on the same day that the baron began his march ; and posted ten thousand of his detachment in ambuscade near the priory of Melle, in the direct road where the Hanoverian general was obliged to pass ; while the count, with the remainder of his troops, was privately approaching Ghent, with an intention to storm it in the night.

Baron Molck marched along the causeway until he came to the priory of Melle, which lies on the right side of the causeway, where the French lay in ambuscade, with two batteries before them, one of eight, and the other of ten guns. They suffered the baron to pass with the three squadrons of Rich's dragoons, and the battalion of the royals : then they made a general discharge from their batteries, and presented themselves in order of battle. Baron Molck saw it was too late to retreat, and attacked them with such fury, that he forced a passage, and arrived safely in Ghent, with Rich's dragoons, the royals, and the hussars. But brigadier Bligh, perceiving it impossible to follow the lieutenant general, turned off to the right, with his own regiment, that of Handasyde, and the Austrian and Dutch squadrons of dragoon, who forced a passage, gained an adjacent wood, and retired from thence to Dendermond, twelve miles east of Ghent. However, the confederate detachment lost about six hundred men in effecting their escape*.

Count Lowendahl, the next night, surprized and took Ghent, which was garrioned by only sixteen hundred

* Smollet, in his slight account of this detachment, says, " they were killed or taken, except a few dragoons that escaped to Ostend."

The fact is as above. Doctor Smollet is a downright morrice-dancer of history : we shall see him dance to the highland bag-pipes.

men; though the French had no less than twenty thousand in it, when it was surrendered to the duke of Marlborough in 1708. Few of the garrison were killed; but forty officers and six hundred men were made prisoners: the rest of the garrison retired into the citadel; so that the momentary change of possession in this extensive, populous but ill-defended city*, passed as like a visionary scene; the inhabitants going to bed subjects to the house of Austria, and rising, without their knowledge, subjects to the crown of France. Baron Molck escaped with his horse to Ostend: but as the citadel of Ghent was little better fortified than the city, the garrison surrendered prisoners of war on the 4th of July: they were seven hundred men, principally English, who were unable to make a defence.

Bruges† followed the fate of Ghent, and submitted without any resistance: the magistrates surrendered the keys on the first summons; but the regiment of Scotch fusileers seasonably retired to Ostend.

The French, upon the sixth of July, invested Oudenarde‡; which was defended by three battalions of English,

* Ghent is the capital of Austrian Flanders, lying on the four rivers Scheld, Lys, Lieue, and Mourwater, which are all navigable. The walls are twelve miles in circumference; within which are 7 parish churches, 55 monasteries and nunneries, and 36,000 houses. The town is cut by several canals, which divide it into 26 isles, and over the canals there are 300 bridges. There is a large canal which goes from Ghent to Bruges, and from thence to Ostend, on which are several forts. Ghent is 22 miles S. W. of Antwerp, and 26 N. W. of Brussels. It was taken by the French in 1708,

and retaken by the duke of Marlborough in 1709.

† A large handsome town of the Austrian Netherlands, 8 miles E. from Ostend, 20 N. E. of Ghent, 30 N. E. of Dunkirk, and 35 W. of Antwerp.

‡ A strong town of Austrian Flanders, situated on the Scheld, 12 miles S. of Ghent, 27 W. of Brussels, and 15 N. E. of Tournay. This town was besieged by the French in 1708; but the siege was raised by the duke of Marlborough, who defeated their army, and took 5000 prisoners.

Austrians and Dutch : but the governor surrendered on the fourth day of the siege ; when the English and Austrians were made prisoners of war ; but the Dutch were dismissed as at Tournay.

As every circumstance daily evinced the insecurity of a dependance on the Dutch, the inhabitants of Brabant were in the utmost anxiety and confusion, because they were in no expectation of any protection from the confederates ; who were obliged, on account of their inferiority, to place themselves in the strongest and most convenient situation for succoring such of the garrisons as were daily expected to be visited by the French.

When the French were in possession of Oudenarde, the main body of their army, after receiving several reinforcements from the Moselle, marched and encamped near Aloft, where their king and the dauphin arrived on the twenty-fourth of July. The DUKE of CUMBERLAND sent a detachment of eight hundred men up the Scheld to reinforce the garrison of Dendermond* ; but the boats were intercepted, and three hundred men taken prisoners ; after which the governor of Dendermond surrendered on the former incapacitating conditions.

These conquests were but preludes to one of greater importance, the reduction of Ostend ; which would deprive the British forces of an immediate communication with England, and prevent the commercial intercourse between Great Britain and the Austrian Netherlands. The consequence of this valuable place was too perceptible to be neglected by the British government, and a bat-

* A town of Austrian Flanders, W. of Antwerp, and 13 miles E. seated at the confluence of the rivers of Ghent. It was taken by the Dender and Scheld, 15 miles S. allies in 1706.

talion of foot-guards was sent from England to reinforce the garrison, which then consisted of four thousand men, under the command of count Chanclos, a lieutenant-general in the Austrian service.

However, count Lowendahl invested Ostend*, on the first of August, with twenty thousand men. They met with a noble and vigorous resistance till the thirteenth, when the Austrian general capitulated, and surrendered the place, upon condition, that "the garrison, and all that depended on it, might march out with all military honors, and be conducted to the Austrian territories." In pursuance of the capitulation, the English troops in garrison were preparing to embark on board the transports; but the French conducted them to Mons. Thus this important place fell an easy acquisition to the French; although under much the same circumstances of support from the English, in 1601, it held out a siege of three years against all the power of Spain, at that time the most formidable in Europe; nor was it then purchased with less than the lives of seventy thousand Spaniards; but now it was surrendered in less than a fortnight; which was certainly owing to a negligence in repairing the fortifications and keeping the sluices in a proper condition to annoy the assailants.

Count Lowendahl, after the surrender of Ostend, invested Newport †, which was garrisoned by two battalions of Austrians and two of Dutch, who after a siege of two days surrendered prisoners of war.

* A strong sea-port town of Austrian Flanders, 12 miles W. of Brusses, and 175 N. of Paris.
 † A sea port town of Austrian Flanders, 10 miles S.W. of Ostend, 8 N. E. of Newport, 22 N. E. of Dunkirk, 58 N. W. of and 16 N. E. of Dunkirk.

Marshal Saxe afterwards made several marches and countermarches, to cover his design upon Aeth ; while the French monarch and the Dauphin departed from the army, and made their triumphal entry into Paris, on the seventh of September, with the utmost magnificence.

Aeth * was invested on the eighteenth : it was gar-
risoned by sixteen hundred men, under the command of
count Wurmbrand, who surrendered the twenty-eighth,
upon honorable terms, after sustaining a warm siege car-
ried on by a continual shower of bombs and red-hot bul-
lets, which destroyed most of the buildings and killed
many of the inhabitants. By the reduction of this place,
the French became masters of all Flanders, except Sluyst,
and some other little towns belonging to the Dutch ; as
also of Brabant to the river Dender : so that both Brussels
and Antwerp were in imminent danger of swelling up the
number of the French conquests.

At this time the confederate army lay entrenched be-
yond the canal of Antwerp †; their right extending to
that city, and their left to Brussels : for the disparity of
strength between the two armies was too disadvantageous
to invite the allies to give the least molestation to the
French ; who had a greater opportunity of improving
their success, by the REBELLION which had broke out in
Scotland, and was come to such an head, as to occasion

* Or Ath, a small, handsome, strong town of the Austrian Netherlands in the province of Hainault, on the Dender, 12 miles N. W. of Mons, 25 S. W. of Brussels, and 25 S. of Ghent.

† A strong port town of Dutch Brabant, seated opposite to the isle of Cadfant, 10 miles N. E. of Bruges, and 21 N. W. of Ghent.

‡ A large and beautiful city of

Brabant, subject to the house of Austria, and seated on the E. shore of the Scheld, with which it communicates by a canal, 22 miles N. of Brussels, and the same distance N. E. of Ghent. It was taken by the prince of Parma in 1585; and surrendered to the duke of Marlborough after the battle of Ramillies in 1706, without waiting for a siege.

the three battalions of the British guards, and seven regiments* of foot to be recalled from Flanders for the suppression of this dangerous commotion, which had spread a general consternation throughout the British dominions, and occasioned the sudden return of his Britannic majesty † from Hanover. However, the confederate army retained the same situation and strength; the place of the troops sent to England, being supplied by six thousand Hessians ‡ lately readmitted into the British pay.

The presence of the DUKE of CUMBERLAND at last became absolutely necessary in Great Britain, to suppress the rebellion which was become very formidable and alarming to the king and all his faithful subjects. Accordingly his Royal Highness left the confederate army on the twelfth of October, and arrived in London on the eighteenth; where he was soon after followed by Sir John Ligonier, with four troops of his own regiment, Bland's regiment of dragoons, the detachment of foot guards which served at Ostend, lieutenant-general St. Clair's battalion, and lieutenant-general Harrison's, major-general Huske's, and lord Harry Beauchamp's regiments of foot; all of which arrived in the Thames, and landed on the twenty fifth.

* Commanded by major-generals Pulteney, Howard, Bragg and Johnson; the brigadiers Douglas and Cholmondeley; and colonel Sowle. They were landed at Gravesend, Grays, and Blackwall, on the 24th of September.

† He arrived at Helvoetsluys on the 27th of August, and was waited upon by lord Petersham and Sir John Ligonier, with dispatches from the DUKE of CUMBERLAND.

‡ A treaty was concluded, on the 11th of June, between his Bri-

tannic majesty and the landgrave of Hesse, whereby 6 00 Hessians were retaken into the British pay for four years; for which the landgrave received the same subsidy as he had enjoyed before the rejection of the propositions of Hanau furnished him with a pretence of engaging in the Franckfort confederacy. See p. 169.

‡ The king was pleased to send orders to his Royal Highness the DUKE of CUMBERLAND, to send over immediately eight battalions;

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The allied army soon afterwards took their winter cantonments in Brussels, Antwerp, and Mechlin; but marshal Saxe took the advantage of his superiority; and on the twenty ninth of January, 1746, invested Brussels, which he was determined to reduce, and cut off the communication of the confederates with the garrisons of Mons, St. Guilain, Charleroy, Namur, and Luxemburg. The garrison consisted of ten thousand troops, Austrians and Dutch, commanded by count Kaunitz and count Lanoy, who made a vigorous defence until the twentieth of February, when they surrendered the place, and the whole garrison were made prisoners of war; after which the French troops quartered themselves in their new acquisitions.

Thus marshal Saxe reinstated the French in possession of the best parts of the Austrian Netherlands, with the same facility as they were taken from them by the duke of Marlborough in 1706. The reduction of Brussels terminated all the enterprizing attempts of the French marshal until the ensuing spring, when Antwerp was expected to acknowledge him her conqueror.

and also nine squadrons of the British troops from the army under his Royal Highness's command, for the defence and security of his majesty's kingdoms." Lond. Gazette, 28 Sept. 1745. Accordingly, on the fourth of November, the regiment of foot commanded by the generals Handasyd, Maver, Campbell, Skelton, Bligh, Mordaunt, lord Semple, and lord John Murray, arrived in the Thames from the Netherlands.

‡ Brussels is the capital of Brabant, and the seat of government for the Austrian Netherlands, situated

on the river Senne, 22 miles S. of Antwerp, 26 S. E. of Ghent, 148 N. E. of Paris, and 172 E. of London. It was bombarded by the French in 1695, by which 4000 houses were destroyed: and in 1708 it was besieged by the elector of Bavaria, whom the duke of Marlborough obliged to raise the siege.

† Or Malines, a large fortified town, of the Austrian Netherlands, seated on the united streams of the Dyle and Demel, 13 miles N.E. of Brussels, 15 S. of Antwerp, and 27 E. of Ghent.

C H A P. VIII.

The rise of the REBELLION in SCOTLAND in 1745; its progress; and the suppression of it by the victory obtained by his Royal Highness the DUKE of CUMBERLAND over the REBELS at CULLODEN, on the 16th of April, 1746. Its consequences.

THE several charters of the land, by which the right of Englishmen stood secured, sworn and entailed to them and their posterity before the Norman government, were expressive of the most ample, free and genuine privileges: but these were not so much the grants or concessions of their princes, as the recognition of what the subjects had reserved to themselves in the original institution of their government, and of what had always appertained to them by law, and customs immemorial. These privileges and liberties came to be more distinctly expressed and signally ratified in the ever memorable Magna Charta, which was obtained from king John, by the just exertion of English liberty in the year 1215, when the free-born barons compelled their arbitrary sovereign, notwithstanding all the fury of papal fulminations, to confirm that glorious charter, and the charter of the forests. These charters are the foundations of those liberties the British nation now enjoys; to them are owing that happy constitution, that excellent system of government, under which the natives of Great Britain flourish to this hour in the utmost felicity, exciting the admiration of surrounding nations.

As they assigned their sovereign the laws as rules and measures by which he was to govern: so they not only
delegated

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delegated it to him as a trust, which he was to swear faithfully to perform; but they also reserved a liberty and right inherent in the community of inspecting his administration, making him responsible for it, and of abdicating him from the sovereignty, upon universal and pernicious failures in the royal trust *.

The lives of Egbert and Fergus, the founders of the English and Scotch nations, were united in king James the first of that name in England, and the sixth in Scotland †. His mother, the unhappy Mary queen of Scotland, was the daughter of James V. who was the son of James IV. by the princess Margaret, eldest daughter of Henry VII. of England, whose male issue being extinct in queen Elizabeth, the female took place. The father of James was Henry lord Darnly, of the house of STEWART, or Stuart, which was of no ignoble extraction; for Bancho, an eminent Scotch lord who lived in the year 1040, was their ancestor, whose grandson Walker assisted William the Norman at the battle of Hastings in 1066, and afterwards retired into Scotland, where he was made hereditary Great High Steward, from which office he and his posterity assumed their surname, as was customary in Scotland.

James was born at Edinburgh castle, on the nineteenth of June, 1566, and was baptized a Roman Catholic,

* Instances: Edward II. Richard II. and Henry IV. As also of several kings in France, Spain, Portugal, Denmark, Sweden and Poland: besides Scotland, where Duffus, Donald, Ethus, and James III. were dethroned for their arbitrary and unjust behavior; and we are told, "that Scotland was free from the beginning, and created itself kings on this condition,

that the empire being conferred upon them by the suffrages of the people, if the matter required it, they might take it away by the same suffrages." Buchanan.

† He was the forty-fourth monarch of England, and the first of Great Britain; the twenty-fourth from the Norman conquest; and the first of the STEWART line.

but

but afterwards educated in the protestant religion; under the tutelage of Buchanan, who gave him a distaste to the noble maxims of government. The crown was set on his head while he lay in his cradle : but at twelve years of age he assumed the royal authority ; and when he was twenty three he married the princess Anne, second daughter of Frederic II. king of Denmark and Norway, by the princess Sophia of Mecklenburg; by which marriage James had several children, and came to the throne of England in 1603, when he was in the thirty-sixth year of his age.

Nothing is more uncertain than the right by which the kings of England reigned from the conquest to the time of James I. who had in his person a threefold right, which rendered his title indisputable. The first was the parliamentary right, which derived it's validity from the act of parliament, securing the crown to Henry VII. and his heirs : the second was hereditary right, as being the nearest relation and natural heir to queen Elizabeth : and these two rights were confirmed by the queen's will, which made the third. But James wanted to establish the hereditary right, though no law could be produced sufficient for that purpose ; while there were many precedents in the English history to shew, that the parliament assumed a power to dispose of the crown, and settle the succession, without any regard to the next heir ; as also that more kings have ascended the throne by virtue of acts of parliament, or some other means, than by hereditary right : nor was there one prince who had less right to the crown than Henry VII. before he was confirmed by the parliament ; and it was therefore from the parliamentary confirmation, rather than from the hereditary right of
Henry

Henry VII. that James the first could derive his own title. The kings who were most remarkable for their wisdom and abilities, took care to have their titles confirmed by the parliament, especially if they thought them liable to any objections: but James, by asserting hereditary right, was the first cause of those troubles which afflicted England, brought his son to the scaffold, and obliged his grandson to fly from his crown.

It would be too tedious here to recapitulate the projects of Charles I. and the principal actions of his two sons and successors, which rendered the whole family unhappy: but it has been often remarked of the Stewarts, that they bore misfortunes better than prosperity*. James II. succeeded his brother Charles in 1685. Voltaire says, they were both Roman Catholics; but Charles never declared himself till towards the end of his life; while James was a bigot to the Romish church from his early years, and espoused her cause with the most extravagant zeal. Had he been a Mahometan, or had he followed the doctrine of Confucius, the English never would have disturbed his reign; but he designed to establish the Roman catholic religion in his dominions; though his subjects held it in detestation, as they deemed it the religion of slaves. Louis XIV. encouraged him to aim at absolute power; and the Jesuits pushed him on to re-establish their religion: he accordingly endeavored to carry these points; but every step he took was so impolitic as to inflame the whole nation at last. His whole conduct was so indiscreet, that the cardinals of Rome humorously said, "they ought to excommunicate him as a man who was going to destroy that little of the catholic religion which remained in England,"

* Burnet.

When he abdicated his kingdom, he took refuge in France, where he declared himself a Jesuit, and became the general subject of ridicule. The archbishop of Rheims said aloud in the drawing room at St. Germain's, "What a fool to throw away three kingdoms for a mass!"

This deluded monarch made an unsuccessful attempt upon Ireland, and returned to France, where he died at St. Germain's in 1700. Few princes had been more unfortunate than James; nor have we any instance in history of a family so unhappy for such a number of years. The first of his ancestors who reigned over Scotland, and was also named James, after having been eighteen years a prisoner in England, was, together with his queen, murdered by his own subjects. James II. his son, was killed in a battle with the English, at the age of nineteen. James III. being first imprisoned by his subjects, was afterwards killed in the field by rebels. James IV. likewise lost his life in battle. Mary Stewart, his grand-daughter, having been driven from her throne, took refuge in England, where, after languishing in prison eighteen years, she was condemned to death by English judges, and accordingly beheaded. Charles I. her grandson, king of England, as well as Scotland, being delivered up by the Scots, was sentenced to death by the English, and suffered publicly on a scaffold. James, his son, the seventh of the name, and second of England, was driven out of his three kingdoms; and, as a farther aggravation of his misfortunes, even the legitimacy of his son was disputed. This son likewise made efforts to regain the throne of his ancestors; but they proved fruitless, and were only the occasion of
many

many of his friends suffering death by the hands of the public executioners*.

The tory ministry, which began under queen Anne in 1710, looked on the political principles that had generally prevailed in their government from the revolution in 1688, to be destructive of their true interest, to have mingled them too much in the affairs of the continent, to tend to the impoverishing of their people, and to the loosening the bands of their constitution in church and state. They supposed the tory party to be the bulk of the landed interest, and to have no contrary influence blended into it's constitution. They supposed the whigs to be the remains of a party, formed against the ill designs of the court under king Charles II. nursed up into strength, and applied to contrary uses by king William III. yet still so weak as to lean for support on the presbyterians and the other sectaries, on the bank and the other corporations, on the Dutch and the other allies. Therefore the view of the new ministry was, to break the body of the whigs, and fill all the public employments with tories. When the latter were discarded, the chevalier set out, as if his design had been to gain the coast, and to embark for Great Britain; and the court of France made a merit of stopping him, and obliging him to return. "But this, says lord Bolingbroke, to my certain knowledge, was a farce acted by concert, to keep up an opinion of his character, when all opinion of his cause seemed to be at an end. He owned this concert to me at Bar, on the occasion of my telling him, that he would have found no party ready to receive him, and that the enterprize would have been to the last degree extravagant. He was, at this time, far from

* Voltaire.

having any encouragement : no party, numerous enough to make the least disturbance, was formed in his favor : but on the king's arrival, the storm arose among the disappointed tories, who, at the same time, had not the least affection for the pretender's person, nor any principle favorable to his interest." It was said, the whole tory party was become avowedly jacobite ; and that most of the principal tories were in a concert with the duke of Ormond to support the pretender, of whom Bolingbroke remarks, that " his religion was not founded on the love of virtue, and the detestation of vice ; on a sense of that obedience which is due to the supreme being ; and a sense of those obligations, which creatures formed to live in mutual dependence on one another lie under : that the spring of his whole conduct was fear ; fear of the horns of the devil, and of the flames of hell : he has been taught to believe, that nothing but a blind submission to the church of Rome, and a strict adherence to all the terms of that communion, can save him from those dangers : he has all the superstition of a capuchin, but I find in him no tincture of the religion of a prince*." His lordship, on another occasion, speaking of some persons who figured in the rebellion, tells us, " they had no assurance, no nor grounds to expect any troops, except those of the highlands ; whose disposition in general was known to every man ; but whose insurrection, without the concurrence of other insurrections, and other troops, was deemed even by those that made them take arms afterwards, not a strength but a weakness ; ruin to the poor people, and ruin to the cause. The interest of the present royal family was, to succeed without opposition, and to come to the throne in a calm : but it

* " A letter to Sir William Wyndham."

was the interest of a faction that they should come to it in a storm. Accordingly the whigs were very near putting in execution some of the wildest projects of insurrections and rebellion, under pretence of securing what there was not sufficient disposition, nor any preparation at all made, to obstruct. The storm that was not raised to disturb and endanger the accession of king George I. was only deferred. He came to the throne easily and quietly, and took possession of the kingdom with as little trouble as he could have expected, if he had been not only the queen's successor, but her son. Look back to the restoration, consider all that passed from the year 1641 to 1660, and then compare the measures that king Charles I. was advised to pursue, for the establishment of his government in the circumstances of that time, with those which king George I. was advised and prevailed on, against his opinion, inclination, and first resolution, to pursue, when the whole fury of party was let loose, and in effect, every man in the country proscribed who did not bear the name of whig. To these measures of unexpected violence alone it must be ascribed, that the pretender had any party for him of strength sufficient to appear and act. These measures alone produced the troubles that followed, and dyed the royal ermines of a prince, no way sanguinary, in blood." His lordship remarks, "that he was far from excusing one party, for suffering another to drive them into rebellion: but there are two observations on that event. One is, that the very manner in which this rebellion was begun, shews abundantly that it was a start of passion, a sudden phrenzy of men transported by their resentment, and nothing less than the execution of a design long premeditated and prepared. The other is, that few examples

examples are to be found in history, perhaps none, of what happened on this occasion, when the same men, in the same country, and in the compass of the same year, were ready to rise in arms against one prince, without any national cause; and then provoked, by the violence of their councils, the opposite faction to rise in actual rebellion against the successor. These are some of the effects of maintaining divisions in a nation, and of governing by faction. We might descend into a detail of many fatal consequences that have followed, from the first false step that was taken, when the present settlement was so avowedly made on the NARROW BOTTOM OF PARTY.*"

The same noble writer, in another treatise, asks "what gave strength and spirit to a jacobite party after the accession of king George I? The true answer is, a sudden turn of imaginations of a whole party to resentment and rage, that were turned a little before to quiet submission, and patient expectation. Principle had as little share in making the turn, as reason had in conducting it. Men who had sense and temper too, before that moment, thought of nothing, after it, but of setting up a tory king against a whig king: and when some of them were asked if they were sure a popish king would make a good tory king? or whether they were determined to sacrifice their religion and liberty to him? the answer was, no; they would take arms against him, if he made attempts on either; that this might be the case, perhaps, in six months after his restoration; but that, in the mean time, they would endeavor his restoration †."

* Bolingbroke "Of the state of parties, at the accession of George I."

† Bolingbroke's "Idea of a patriot king."

Upon the demise of queen Anne, on the first of August 1714, the crown of Great Britain, descended to George Lewis elector of Hanover, as the son and heir of Ernest Augustus, his late father, by the princess Sophia, then lately deceased, and according to the hereditary right of succession, as well as the parliamentary settlement * of the crown. This prince was in the fifty fourth year of his age, when he ascended the British throne: he was inaugurated with great acclamations of joy; but these were soon followed by insurrections in favor of the pretender both in England and Scotland.

The earl of Marr, who had been secretary of state for Scotland in the preceding reign, obtained a commission of lieutenant-general from the pretender, whom he proclaimed king at Kirk-Michael in Fife, on the ninth of

* The act of parliament made in England, in the second session of the first year of king William and queen Mary, intitled "An act declaring the rights and liberties of the subject, and settling the succession of the crown." An act of the 12th and 13th of king William, intitled "An act for the further limitation of the crown, and better securing the rights and liberties of the subject." An act of the 13th and 14th of king William, intitled, "An act of attainder of the pretended prince of Wales of high treason." Another act, passed the same year, intitled, "An act for the further security of his majesty's person, and the succession of the crown in the protestant line, and for extinguishing the hopes of the pretended prince of Wales, or all other pretenders, and their open and secret abettors." An act of the 1st of queen Anne, intitled, "An act for enlarging the time for taking the oath of abjuration; and for the further security of her majesty's person, and the succession of

the crown in the protestant line, and for extinguishing the hopes of the pretended prince of Wales, and all other pretenders, and their open and secret abettors." An act of the 4th of queen Anne, intitled, "An act for the naturalization of the most excellent princess Sophia, electress and dutchess dowager of Hanover, and the issue of her body." Another act of the 4th and 5th of queen Anne, intitled, "An act for the better securing her majesty's person and government, and of the succession to the crown of England in the protestant line." Another "Act for an union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland." As also, an act of the united kingdom, passed in 1707, intitled, "An act for the security of her majesty's person and government, and of the succession of the crown of Great Britain in the protestant line." See the Crisis, by Sir Richard Steele, p. 2—29. My history of the war, vol. IV. p. 85—95. As also this book, p. 146.

September

September, 1715, when he set up his standard, and afterwards advanced to Perth, where he was joined by many persons of distinction; so that his army consisted of eight thousand foot and two thousand horse. General Whetham commanded the troops of his majesty, and stationed them at Sterling to support that important post, until the arrival of the duke of Argyle, who had been appointed commander in chief of the forces in Scotland: but before his grace could come to any engagement with the rebels, another insurrection broke out in England, which had been previously agreed upon with the earl of Marr.

The earl of Derwentwater, lord Widdrington, and Mr. Foster, were principally entrusted with the conduct of this latter enterprize. They were joined by a body of Scotch insurgents, and advanced from Northumberland to Preston in Lancashire, which was the final step of their incursion. General Wiles had been dispatched by the government to oppose them, with three regiments of horse, eight of dragoons, and a regiment of foot. He invested and attacked the town, on the thirteenth of November; and the next day the rebels surrendered at discretion. The prisoners were about five hundred English and a thousand Scotch: among the former were the earl of Derwentwater, and his brother Mr. Charles Ratcliffe, lord Widdrington, general Foster, colonel Oxburgh, colonel Townley, Sir Francis Anderton, and fourteen other gentlemen: among the latter were, the earls of Winton, Nithisdale, and Carnwarth; the viscount Kenmure, lord Nairn, lord Charles Murray, son to the duke of Athol, and brigadier Mac Intosh. The noblemen were conducted to the tower of London, and the others to different places of confinement; which terminated the insurrection in England.

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The earl of Marr was no more successful than the earl of Derwentwater; and the same day that general Willes attacked the former at Preston, the duke of Argyle attacked the latter at Sheriff-Moor, near Dumblain, where a wing of each side was victorious, and the other wing defeated. The earl of Marr retreated to Perth, and the duke of Argyle was joined by six thousand Dutch. The pretender landed near Aberdeen, on the twenty-second of November, from whence he went to Scoon, where the kings of Scotland were usually crowned. He issued out several proclamations, and received many addresses: but when the duke of Argyle advanced against him, towards Montrose, he found his labors at an end. The pretender, with the earl of Marr, the earl of Melfort, and general Sheldon, set sail for France; after which, his unfortunate adherents were conducted by general Gordon to Aberdeen, where they dispersed.

The earl of Derwentwater, and the viscount Kenmure expired on the Scaffold for their unhappy conduct. Four were hanged at Tyburn, and twenty two in Lancashire: some were attainted by parliament, a few transported, and many pardoned; which was the entire suppression of that rebellion*.

* The following is a list of the most considerable chiefs of Scotland, with the number of men they could raise in 1715.

Note, f. signifies for the then government; a. against it; n. neuter; m. major part; r. in the rebellion.

D U K E S.		M A R Q U I S.	
	Men.		Men.
f. Hamilton	1000	f. Anrandaie	500
f. Buccleugh	1000	E A R L S.	
n. Gordon	a. n. r. 3000	n. Errol	a. m. 500
f. Argyle	f. m. 4000	a. r. Maristhal	a. m. 500
f. Douglas	500	f. Sutherland	1000
f. Athol	a. m. 6000	a. r. Marr	1000
f. Montrose	a. m. 2000	f. Rothes	500
f. Roxburgh	500	f. Morten	300
		The	

The pretender was then compelled to take an asylum at Rome, where pope Clement VII. granted him the annual sum of ten thousand scudi or crowns *. His hopes of subsistence from Sweden ended in 1718, by the death of

	Men		Men
f. m. Eglington	300	a. m. Sir J. Maclean	1000
f. m. Glencairn	300	f. Laird of Grant	1000
f. Caffis	500	a. r. Laird of Appin	300
a. m. n. Caithness	500	f. n. MacLeod	1000
f. a. m. Murray	300	a. r. m. Mac Kenning	200
a. r. Nithsdale	300	a. r. m. Glenco	100
a. r. Wintoun	300	a. r. Glenmoristan	100
a. r. m. Linlithgow	300	a. Mac Neil	120
a. r. Hume	500	a. r. Straglass	100
r. m. Perth	1500		
r. a. m. Wigtoun	300		
a. r. Strathmore	300		
f. Lauderdale	300		
r. m. Seaforth	3000		
f. Dumfries	200		
r. Southesk	300		
f. Wemyss	300		
r. Airly	500		
r. Carnwath	300		
r. m. Panmure	500		
f. Kilmarnock	300		
f. Dundonald	300		
r. m. Breadalbane	2000		
VISCOUNTS.			
a. Stormont	300		
r. Kenmure	300		
B A R O N S.			
f. m. Forbes	500		
a. m. Lovat	800		
f. Ross	500		
f. Rae	500		
a. r. m. Nairn	1000		
C L A N S.			
a. r. Sir Dan. Mac Donald	1000		
a. r. G engary	500		
a. r. Clanronald	1000		
a. r. Keppoch	300		
a. r. Mac Intosh	1000		
a. Mac Gregor	500		
r. Robertson	500		
a. r. Macpherson	500		
a. r. Sir Ev. Cameron	500		

SCOTCH PEERS ATTAINED.
E A R L S.

Earl of Perth, J. Drummond,	1695
— Middleton, Middleton	1695
— Melford, Drummond,	1695
— Marshal, Keith,	1715
— Marr, Erskine	1715
— Nithsdale, Maxwell	1715
— Winton, Seaton,	1715
— Linlithgow, Levingston	1715
— Seaforth, Mackenzie	1715
— Southesk, Carnegie,	1715
— Airly, Ogilvie.	1715
— Carnwath, Dalzell,	1715
— Panmure, Maul,	1715

VISCOUNTS.

Viscount Dundee, Graham,	1689
— Preston, Graham,	1690
— Kenmure, Gordon,	1715
— Kilsyth, Levingston	1715

B A R O N S.

Lord Sinclair, Sinclair,	1715
— Burleigh, Balfour,	1715
— Duffus, Sutherland,	1715
— Nairn, Nairn,	1715

N. B. Commissioners were appointed for managing the annexed forfeited estates in Scotland. The Derwentwater estate was appropriated to the use of Greenwich Hospital.

* About 3000l. sterling; "And though the clandestine remittances of his adherents in England might amount to as much more, it fell

very short of what was required to keep up the state of one who set up for a king, and expected to be treated as such," Keyser, vol. II. p. 46.

Charles the twelfth ; and his dependance upon Spain was disconcerted by the defeat of his adherents at *Glenhiels*, in 1719 *. This fugitive prince, during his residence at Rome, had the palace of the marquis de Montj for his habitation. He publicly professed the popish religion, and was treated with every external appearance of royalty †. His eldest son was styled prince of Wales, and treated as the presumptive heir of a crown, by the pope, who permitted him to take place of the cardinals ; and the younger son retained the imaginary title of the duke of York. The education of these young princes was entrusted to the care of the titular earl of Dunbar, brother to the viscount Stormont ; because he was a protestant ‡. This was done with a view of persuading the world, that the young princes were educated in that religion ; which could not fail of procuring them adherents in Great Britain, whenever there was an opportunity of reviving their pretensions ; but time has sufficiently convinced us of the contrary.

Charles-Edward, the elder son of the chevalier St. George †, was now in the twenty-fifth year of his age. His

* Puffendorf's introduction, vol. I. p. 22.

† "He had a great number of domestics, but few in his service that were persons of quality. He was complimented with the style of MAJESTY by the pope, who not only gave him an arm chair at an audience, but paid him all the honors due to a king who kept incognito." Pollnitz vol. II. p. 54. "The court of Rome indeed has issued an order, that all the subjects should stile him king of England ; but this is only an empty title, and made a jest of by the Italians themselves,

who term him, "Il re di qui," or "The king here." At his coming into an assembly, no English protestant rose up, and even the Roman catholics paid him their compliments in a very superficial manner." Keyser, p. 43.

‡ "My lord Dunbar was the chief man at the pretender's court after Mr. Hayes was made lord Inverness and retired to Avignon." Pollnitz, p. 54.

‡ The pretender assumed this title after his Scotch expedition in 1708. Puffendorf I. 200.

person was tall, genteel and graceful : his manners free, generous, affable, and engaging : his spirit brave, active, and enterprizing. He had the nobleness of a Sobieski, without the timidity of a Steuart *. Since the disappointment of the intended expedition in 1744 †, the young adventurer was wholly intent on raising an insurrection in Great Britain. The ambitious hopes of ascending a throne perpetually fired his heart; this was his principal meditation, and this he was determined to attempt.

A strong party had been forming in his favor, among the discontented and disaffected chiefs of the northern parts of Scotland ; for which purpose an association was entered into by Simon Frazer, lord Lovat, and six other of the most eminent chiefs in 1740, who fully expected the French succors in 1743, and afterwards continued the necessary appointments for executing their design. Thus the principal dependance of the young chevalier was upon the chiefs of the highland clans, who acted with such unlimited tyranny over their vassals, that they were obliged to follow their chiefs. The common highlanders, at that time, were but little removed from the state of nature ; they had no other idea of liberty than that of ranging at large over their sterile wilds, to assist their chieftains in enlarging their bounds, pillaging their more opulent neighbors, or executing their implacable revenge.

* We have been falsely told, that " he was bred up with the duke of Berwick, from whom he had learned the art of war, which he had almost reduced to a science : that he was advanced to several considerable places of trust under the courts of Versailles and Madrid : that he was at the battle of Dettingen : that he commanded those troops at Tournay, which supported the battery from the village of Antoine,

that played so furiously on the English infantry : " with other such improbable stories chronicled by " Andrew Henderson," a d to be seen in his strange medley, which he has modestly called, " The history of the rebellion, 1743 and 1746 : " though his first page contains the abovementioned notorious falsties.

† See before p. 137—144.

A favorable conjuncture now offered to facilitate the design. His Britannic majesty was in Germany; the disaster at Fontenoy had withdrawn a considerable number of forces abroad; and the troops in Scotland were insufficient to make opposition against any considerable body of insurgents. Besides, from the poverty of the highlanders, and their resentment for the military execution of three soldiers, belonging to the highland regiment in 1743*, a more extraordinary defection was imagined. This transaction at first bore no extraordinary appearance, but now it was discovered to have been a fatal incident; for the highland clans, who of old were accustomed to regard the individual members of society with a public eye, beheld the execution of their countrymen with a secret dissatisfaction and resentment; and as they never could be persuaded but their treatment was unjust, they ardently wished for an opportunity to revenge their deaths; which

* This regiment was composed of independant companies, raised and armed for the defence of the highlands. Many of them were volunteers of good families, and others enlisted from a presumption that they were not to serve out of their own country. But they were ordered up to London, only to be reviewed, as they were given to understand, by his majesty; though this was a stratagem to draw them out of Scotland, and transport them to Flanders. They arrived in England in May, and were reviewed on Finchley common by general Wade, after which they were ordered to Flanders. The consequence was, 150 revolted and took shelter in Lady-wood, near Oundle, in Northamptonshire, where they were surrounded by a party of horse, and persuaded to submit.

They were all conducted prisoners to the tower of London, where they were tried by a court-martial, and three of them were condemned to die. They were accordingly shot on the parade in the tower, in presence of the other revoltors; some of them were sent to recruit the garrisons of Gibraltar and Minorca, and others to Jamaica, the Leeward Islands, and Georgia. As to the regiment, it was soon after embarked for Ostend, and joined the allied army in Germany, where they eminently distinguished their courage and loyalty, as also at Fontenoy. See my History of that war, vol. II. p. 271—274. It should be observed that this revolt and punishment happened while the late king and the DUKE OF CUMBERLAND were in Germany.

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was now unhappily put into their hands, by a violent and horrid scene of rebellion and slaughter on both sides of the Tweed.

Impatient to visit Scotland, the young prince took leave of the old chevalier at Rome, and went to France, where the ministry furnished him with some supplies*. He embarked at Port St. Lazare in Bretany, on board a frigate of eighteen guns, accompanied by seven of his exiled adherents, who were the marquis of Tullibardine, general Mac Donald, Æneas Macdonald, banker in Paris, Mr. Kelley, colonel Strickland, Sir Thomas Sheridan, colonel Sullivan, and Roy Stewart; and attended by five servants. They set sail on the fourteenth of July, 1745, and were joined off Belleisle by the Elizabeth, a French ship of war of sixty six guns, which the ministry had fitted out to attend and convoy them in this expedition. As their design was to sail round Ireland, so as to disembark in the north-west part of Scotland, the ships proceeded to the southern coast of Ireland; but were attacked in their passage, on the twentieth, by the Lion man of war, of fifty eight guns, commanded by captain Brett, who, after a long and desperate engagement, disabled the Elizabeth, and obliged her to return to Brest; while the frigate escaped to the coast of Lochabar†, and landed the bold adventurers on the twenty-seventh of July, at Moidart, between the islands of Skie and Mul.

The chiefs of the clans resorted to their favorite prince, and paid him every external mark of respect; though

* These were 900 stand of arms, 800 broadswords, and 2000l. in money.

† One of the maritime countries in the north-west of Scotland, prin-

cipally inhabited by papists. The Lion had 52 men killed, and 107 wounded: her masts and rigging were all destroyed, so that she lay muzzled in the sea.

they

they were greatly disappointed in the manner of his arrival; for they had been promised, and expected, he would make a magnificent figure, at the head of sixteen thousand of the best troops of France, well supplied with arms, money, and ammunition, to be safely transported and landed under the protection of a potent fleet.

Enemies of their country, however inert they may appear in times of tranquility, revive by the heat of war like flies and noxious insects in the sun. The same principles, spirit, and views that commenced and continued the rebellion of 1715, were now appearing in the aspect of this rising insurrection: those were the principles of popery; with an absolute, indefeasible, hereditary right; and the following were the principal persons concerned:

The marquis of Tullibardine now assumed the title of duke of Athol, which had been enjoyed by his next brother since the death of his father; while lord John Murray, the third brother of this illustrious family, at this time commanded the highland regiment in the service of the government: but lord George Murray, the fourth brother, was influenced by the marquis to act as a lieutenant general in the present rebellion; and his example was followed by his nephew, the lord Nairn. James Drummond, esquire, commonly called the duke of Perth, was the chief of the noble family of Drummond, and son to the late earl of Perth, lord chancellor of Scotland, who followed the fortunes of king James II. and was by him created a duke in France. His brother, commonly called lord John Drummond, was equally active in the same cause. William viscount Strathallan, and his eldest son James Drummond; as well as Alexander lord Forbes

of

of Pittligo ; David lord Ogilvie, son to the earl of Airley ; and James Graham, titular viscount of Dundee, acted upon the principles in which they had been educated. David lord Elcho, eldest son of James earl of Wemyss ; and Arthur lord Balmerino, of the Elphinston family, were engaged by principle. The same reasons could not be alledged for George earl of Cromartie, William earl of Kilmarnock, and Simon lord Lovat ; the first being highly in favor with the government ; the second receiving a pension of four hundred pounds a year from the crown ; as also did the third, besides his title and the government of Inverness. The charge alledged to the latter was, that “ he traiterously corresponded with the pretender in 1743, and did obtain and accept a commission from him to be lieutenant-general of his forces, another to be general of the highlands, and a patent to create him duke of Fraser ; and did enter into an association with other traitors to obtain troops from France*.” To these were added another unexpected instance of disloyalty in the person of lord Lewis Gordon, second brother to the duke of Gordon ; because this lord had not only been educated in loyal principles, but had even served as a lieutenant under admiral Haddock in the Mediterranean. These were the most eminent persons who particularly and openly distinguished themselves as adherents to the young pretender : though Alexander earl of Kellie was more secretly of their party, for which he was afterwards attainted ; nor was the earl of Traquair less suspected, which occasioned him to undergo a tedious imprisonment.

The principal chiefs of the highland clans, who had associated themselves to promote the insurrections, were Donald Cameron, the younger, of Lochiel, and his bro-

* Article II. of his impeachment.

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ther doctor Archibald Cameron ; Charles Steuart of Ard-
shield ; Donald Mac Donald, the younger, of Clanro-
nald * ; Alexander Mac Donald of Keppoch * ; Alexan-
der Mac Donald of Glencoe * ; Laughlan Mac Laughlan
of Castle Laughlan ; Donald Mac Donald of Lochgarie ;
John Mac Innon of Mac Innon * ; Evan Macpherson of
Clunie ; Robertson of Strowan * ; and Mac Gregor of
Glengary. Those of the greatest consequence among the
other parts of the Scotch adherents were, Sir William
Gordon of Park ; Sir James Kinloch ; Sir James Steuart ;
and Sir John Wedderburn, baronets : William Murray,
brother to lord Dunmore ; John Murray of Broughton ;
John Gordon the elder of Glenbucket ; Archibald Mac
Donald of Barisdale ; Robert Mercer of Aldie ; and Lau-
rence Oliphant of Gask, esquires.

The young pretender soon assembled upwards of two
thousand men, under their respective chiefs ; the Mac-
donalds of Kinloch-Moidart, the Camerons of Lochiel,
and the Steuarts of Appin ; with Keppoch, Glenco,
Glengary, Clanronald ; and two hundred of the Athol
men who followed Tullibardine ; with which force he
took the field, on the eleventh of August, and erected
his standard, having for his motto TANDEM TRIUM-
PHANS. As he had procured the commission of general-
issimo of the troops intended to be sent from France for
his assistance, he next assumed the title of prince regent,
and published two manifestoes in the name of his father ;
the one dated in 1743, when the former invasion was
projected, and another dated in May 1745 ; in which
the old chevalier declared his son regent for Scotland,

* The clans marked with asterisks were in the rebellion in 1715.

with

with large promises of securing the Scots in their rights and liberties, of dissolving the union, and repealing the malt-duty.

The rebels immediately formed a camp in the neighborhood of Fort William*, from whence two companies of the garrison, under captain Scot, advanced to reconnoitre them; but were taken prisoners, after a warm and obstinate engagement. This dawn of success animated the rebels, who now thought of nothing but advancing towards the south, where no suitable preparations had been made to obstruct their passage, because their attempt was too long discredited.

Lieutenant-general Sir John Cope, who was appointed commander in chief of the forces in Scotland in 1744, had now the entire direction of affairs in that part of the united kingdom for the government. He issued orders from Edinburgh for arming the militia, and assembled all the troops he was able at Sterling†, where his force consisted of two regiments of foot, the one commanded by colonel Murray, and the other by colonel Lascelles; with nine companies of the regiments of brigadier Guise and colonel Lee; in all about fourteen hundred men. But the general was directed to leave this advantageous post to the care of two regiments of dragoons, and advance towards the great road called the Chain‡. After a laborious march, he arrived at Dalwhinny, on the twenty-fifth of August, where he had undoubted intelligence

* One of the three fortresses erected by marsha. Wade for the security of the highlands, at Inverlochy in the county of Lochabar, 100 miles N. W. of Edinburgh, and 28 miles S. W. of Fort Augustus in

the county of Inverness.

† Thirty miles N. W. of Edinburgh.

‡ This road leads from Fort William to Fort George at Inverness, sixty miles N. E. of Inverlochy.

that the rebels were posted within seventeen miles of him at Corryarick, an inaccessible pass of seventeen different traverses in the mountains; upon which he continued his march through Badenoch to Inverness; abandoning the whole south of Scotland to the mercy of the rebels, who improved this unexpected advantage to the utmost of their power. They entered the county of Athol, seized the castle of Blair*, and proceeded to Perth† and Dundee‡, where they proclaimed the pretender by new magistrates of their own appointment, levied the public money, and assumed other acts of royalty. Their numbers were now increased to four thousand men, among whom were the titular duke of Perth, the viscount Strathallan, and his son; James Graham of Duntroon, titular viscount of Dundee; lord George Murray; lord Nairn; and some others of less consequence, but of more desperate fortunes; the chief of whom were Sir William Gordon, Sir James Kinloch, Sir John Wedderburn; the two Oliphants of Gaske, Mercer of Aldie, and Hunter of Burnside.

The young chevalier marched from Perth on the eleventh of September; he passed the Forth on the thirteenth; on the sixteenth, at night, he arrived within the neighborhood of Edinburgh; and at five the next morning the city was unaccountably surrendered to him without any resistance. He made his public entrance in a highland habit, at the head of one thousand of his best looking men, who conducted him to the royal palace of Holyrood house.

* Belonging to the duke of Athol, 28 miles N. W. of Perth.

† Thirty miles N. of Edinburgh. It was the chief place of arms and

rendezvous of the rebels under the earl of Marr in 1715.

‡ Sixteen miles N.W. of St. Andrews.

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Archibald Stewart, esquire, who was then lord provost and member of parliament for the city, was generally blamed, and soon after taken into custody, for this imprudent conduct. He was seized at London on the thirtieth of November, and committed to the tower, where he continued till the twentythird of January 1747, when he was released, on entering into bail of fifteen thousand pounds for his appearance at the high court of Justiciary in Scotland.

The lords of session, the lord justice-clerk, and the other members of the court of judicatory, with many other public officers, quitted the city; as also did two regiments of dragoons, who proceeded to join Sir John Cope: but general Guelt, who commanded in the castle, secured the treasure of the bank, the militia arms, and the best effects of the principal inhabitants in that impregnable citadel.

The rebels immediately assembled the heralds and pursuivants, whom they compelled to proclaim the pretender with great ceremony at the cross*, and to publish his manifestoes: but the citizens were permitted to exercise their several occupations.

Sir John Cope marched with his troops from Inverness to Aberdeen, where they took shipping, and landed at Dunbar, twenty nine miles east of Edinburgh, on the eighteenth of September, when he was reinforced by brigadier-general Fowke, with the two regiments of dragoons from Edinburgh. The next day he advanced towards that city, to observe the disposition of the rebels, who were now increased to upwards of five thousand men: for they were joined by the Gordons, MacInnons, Grants and MacPherons, with their chiefs; as also by

* A place for the same use as the Royal Exchange at London.

some small bodies of horse under the lords Balmerino, Elcho and Pitligo ; and had formed an encampment at Duddington, a village two miles east of Edinburgh, at the end of the royal park belonging to the palace of Holyrood-house.

Lieutenant-general Cope was assisted by the earls of Loudon and Hume ; brigadier Fowke, colonel Gardiner, and colonel Lascelles, at the head of Hamilton's and Gardiner's dragoons, about fourteen hundred foot, and two hundred of the loyal clan of Monroes from Inverness ; in all about two thousand three hundred men ; who encamped on the twentieth of September in the neighborhood of Preston-Pans*, where they were met the next day by the young chevalier at the head of his army, who had decamped from Duddington with a resolution to attack the royalists.

Sir John Cope received information that the rebels were advancing towards him ; and as he found it impossible to reach the place of his intended encampment, he thought proper to chuse the first open ground he could arrive at, which was Gladsmuir heath, where he drew up and posted his army in an advantageous situation, between the hamlets of Preston-Pans and Cockeney. The king's troops had Seaton-house, belonging to the late earl of Winton, at some distance on the left : Bankton, the seat of colonel Gardiner ; and Grange, the seat of the honorable James Erskine, esquire, brother to the late earl of Marr, on the right : the firth of Forth on their rear ; and the village of Tranent in their front, which was also secured by a broad and deep ditch. The rebels made their

* In E. Lothian, on the sea-coast, 7 miles E. of Edinburgh.

appearance the same afternoon upon the high grounds, on the south boundary of the heath, to the right of the royalists, whom they attacked early the next morning.

The disposition for the attack being made, about four o'clock on the twenty first of September, the rebels marched hastily round by Seaton-house, and drew up in order of battle. The right wing of the first line was composed of the battalions of Glengary, Clanronald, Keppoch, and Glencoe, amounting to eleven hundred men, commanded by the titular duke of Perth, as lieutenant-general; and the left by lord George Murray, who also acted as lieutenant-general, at the head of the battalions of Lochiel, Perth, Appin, and Glenbucker, being two thousand one hundred and fifty men. The second line consisted of the battalions of Athol, Glenmoriston, Mac Pherson and Nairn, amounting to sixteen hundred men, commanded by lord Nairn: but they were not concerned in the engagement. The young chevalier was at the head of the main body, which consisted of three thousand two hundred and fifty men, to whom he made a short animating address, and then conducted them to begin the engagement. General Cope also drew up his infantry in one line, with a small body of reserve: his artillery was placed on the right, with a guard of one hundred men; the whole supported by the dragoons.

The rebels advanced with great celerity, and surprizing intrepidity, at the dawn of day, and made their strongest effort on the right of the royalists, who were soon thrown into confusion, broke, dispersed, and totally routed; which was principally owing to the cowardice of the dragoons. The rebels received a general discharge from the royal forces, which killed several; but advancing up,

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they discharged their fire, threw down their muskets, drew their broad-swords, gave a frightful shout, and rushed violently on the royal artillery. The victorious rebels cut many of the unhappy royalists to pieces in the confusion of the action; and, after satiating the thirst of blood, took most of the surviving infantry prisoners, in less than an hour after the commencement of the attack. The success of the rebels was chiefly owing to Mac Donald of Keppoch, and Mac Donald of Glengary, who were in the rebellion in 1715, acted now as colonels, and conducted the attack.

About four hundred of the royal forces were killed or miserably wounded, and the prisoners amounted to near twelve hundred men. Among the slain was colonel Gardiner*, who fell, covered with wounds, near the walls of his own garden; with three captains, and one ensign: among the wounded were lieutenant-colonel Whitney, with several other officers: and among the prisoners were colonel Wright; the lieutenant-colonels Halket, Clayton, and Whiteford; the majors Bowles, Severn, Talbot and Griffith; twenty captains, twenty four lieutenants, and twenty nine ensigns: in all eighty three officers taken by the rebels, with all the train of artillery, baggage, tents, colors, and military chest containing six thousand pounds. But Sir John Cope, brigadier Fowke, the earls of Loudon and Hume, with colonel Lascelles, and some other officers, joined the fugitive dragoons at Preston, and retreated to North Berwick, about nine miles from the field of battle, and seventeen east of Edinburgh.

* On the flight of his own regiment of dragoons, he dismounted and heroically signalized himself

at the head of the infantry, where he gloriously perished.

The rebels had only two captains and thirty men killed, and eighty three men wounded. They had gained an unexpected victory, and obtained a valuable acquisition. They made a triumphal entry into Edinburgh, which their elated prince re-entered on the twenty third, carrying all the prisoners, with the colors and baggage, in procession through the city, guarded by the highlanders, and attended by all the bagpipes of the rebel army, playing their favorite air of "The king shall enjoy his own again." The wounded prisoners were sent to the city infirmary; and the officers, who were not wounded, were conducted to Perth.

The consequences of this victory were highly advantageous to the young pretender, who was now absolute master of Scotland, except the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling, Fort William, Fort Augustus, and Inverness. He assumed the air of sovereignty in his dress, conduct, and attendance. Large contributions were exacted in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and other places, where manifestoes were published in vindication of his cause, and to encourage the inhabitants to follow his standard. Emissaries were employed to subvert the principles of many whose loyalty was unshaken: and some received commissions empowering them to act as officers of France, to which several were prompted by the delusion that such commissions would intitle them to the benefit of the cartel of Franckfort*. Great numbers of eminent persons now openly professed their attachment to the young chevalier; and the rebels were continually increasing till they became sufficiently formidable to think of invading England.

* See this volume, p. 86.

Sir John Cope soon after his defeat arrived in London, where his conduct was universally censured : but he was tried and acquitted by a board of general officers : however, this made the nation impatient for the arrival of the DUKE of CUMBERLAND from Flanders. His Royal Highness was universally popular, and undoubtedly brave : the one was a circumstance convenient for the ministry ; and the other is a quality essential to the soldier.

His Britannic majesty was at Hanover, when he received the first intelligence of the insurrection in Scotland, which occasioned his immediate return to London, where he arrived on the thirty first of August, to the great satisfaction of all his faithful subjects. His majesty found that the lords of the regency had issued a proclamation, on the first of the same month, ordering a reward of thirty thousand pounds, to any person who should seize and secure the eldest son of the pretender ; who, by an

* Marshal Wade, lord Cadogan, the duke of Richmond, and the lieutenant generals Folliott and Guise, who reported to his majesty, that, " they were unanimously of opinion, that the behavior of Sir John Cope, had been unblameable ; and that there were no ground for accusation against him, colonel Lascelles, or brigadier Fowke."

† " It would be held too invidious perhaps, to charge the B——rs with fomenting the rebellion, as well as ruining the war : but every man must remember, that they connived at the growth of it, to a degree that amazed all Europe ; and that they were infinitely more attentive to their own establishment in power, than to the security of the nation, or the maintainance of that succession, upon which, under God, our civil and religious liberties de-

pend. The most early, the most zealous, and most disinterested officers of the most loyal and disinterested men, to extinguish the flame as soon as it broke out, or to hinder its spreading afterwards, were rejected ; and, in diametrical opposition to the late affected creed of their broad-bottom allies, they not only took occasion to charge the whole of Scotland, most unfairly and unjustly, with jacobitism, because a part of the highlands had rose in arms for the pretender ; but used such suspicious language, and took such diffident measures with regard to England, as if the same spirit had the predominance here ; though every day, and almost every hour, furnished the most illustrious proofs to the contrary." An Examination of the Principles, &c. p. 43, published in 1749.

act passed in the last session of parliament, was adjudged to be guilty of high-treason, in case he landed or attempted to land in Great Britain or any of its dominions*. The regency had also sent arms for the militia in Scotland and Ireland; and notwithstanding the rebellion was at first discredited as too vain and audacious an attempt, it was now so dangerous and alarming, that the nation was roused from it's inactivity, and testified to the neighboring countries such a disposition of loyalty, as must give confidence to their friends, and strike their enemies with despair. The influence of the principal nobility extended through every rank of men, kindling an universal ardor against the disturbers of civil happiness; and, by this manifestation of allegiance, indolence was awakened, cowardice animated, avarice enlarged, and despondency conquered.

A large body of troops were recalled from Flanders; and six thousand men demanded from the Dutch; all of which arrived. The militia of England and Wales was ordered to be raised. Great encouragement was given for men to engage voluntarily in the royal army. Many of the principal nobility and several eminent gentlemen offered their service to his majesty for raising regiments in their respective counties; in consequence of which commissions were issued for two regiments of light horse and thirteen regiments of foot. The same spirit of loyalty

* See this vol. p. 146.

† The duke of Montagu raised one regiment of light horse in Northamptonshire, and the duke of Kingston another in Nottinghamshire. The regiments of foot were to consist of a thousand men each, and were raised by the following noblemen: the duke of Bedford one in

Middlesex and Bedfordshire; the duke of Bolton one in Hampshire; the duke of Montagu one in Northamptonshire; the duke of Ancaster one in Lincolnshire; the marquis of Granby, eldest son to the duke of Rutland, one in Leicestershire; the earl of Halifax one at Northampton; the earl of Berkeley one extended

extended itself throughout the whole kingdom, particularly in the cities of London, Bristol and York; but nothing could equal the remarkable zeal of the county of York, which, animated by the archbishop*, led the way by an association of the nobility, gentry and clergy, for their mutual defence. His grace, on the twenty-second, preached a sermon at the cathedral church of York, "On occasion of the rebellion in Scotland." The text was "Eccles. chap. viii. ver. 2. I counsel thee to keep the king's commandment, and that in regard of the oath of God."—"If this rebellion, says his grace, rising from a cloud no bigger than a man's hand, should grow up into a frightful storm, and scatter desolation round us, it will owe it's progress to the countenance and support of France and Spain, our old and inveterate enemies; who have no other reason for disturbing our repose, but because we endeavor to stop the overflowings of their tyranny, and stand up in defence of the liberties and repose of Europe. God forbid their wicked machinations should take effect! Providence has often confounded them, and we humbly hope will find out a way to save us once again: but if they are ordained to be the scourge of a sinful people, the punishment will sit the heavier upon us, for com-

in Gloucestershire; the earl of Cholmondeley one in Cheshire; lord viscount Falmouth, and the earl of Edgcombe, each of them one in Cornwall; lord viscount Harcourt one in Oxfordshire; lord Gower one in Staffordshire; and lord Herbert one in Saropshire,

* This eminent prelate was doctor Thomas Herring, who was born at Waisoken in Norfolk, in 1693. In 1710, he was admitted into Jesus college in Cambridge: in 1716, he was created master of arts, and

chosen fellow of Bennet college. He entered into priest's orders in 1719. In 1722, he was made chaplain to doctor Fleetwood, bishop of Ely. In 1728, he took the degree of doctor in divinity. In 1732, he was made dean of Rochester, was advanced to the bishopric of Bangor in 1737, and translated to the archbishopric of York in 1743, where he continued till 1747, when he was promoted to the see of Canterbury, which he enjoyed till his death in 1757.

ing

ing from the hands of those whom we despise and hate." p. 24, 25. His grace, at the presenting the association on the twenty fourth, also made a speech to the lords, gentlemen, and clergy then present, wherein he recapitulated the strength and success of the rebels, and concluded in these words: "May the great God of battles stretch out his all powerful hand to defend us: inspire an union of hearts and hands among all ranks of people; a clear wisdom into the councils of his majesty; and a steady courage and resolution into the hearts of his generals." They cheerfully signed their association at the castle of York on the twenty fourth of September, when the subscription amounted to forty thousand pounds; in consequence of which forty four companies were raised in the country; besides a regiment of gentlemen volunteers, who formed an excellent body of light cavalry, appeared in a rich uniform dress, stiled themselves the Royal Hunters, and chose general Oglethorpe for their commander, as an officer the most accomplished and meritorious to appear at the head of so considerable a body of selected gentlemen. Nor were the other reverend fathers of the church unconcerned spectators of a storm which equally threatened religion and liberty. Several of the bishops, by circular letters to the clergy of their respective dioceses, reminded them of the importance of discharging their duty, by representing to their congregations the errors and mischief of popery; and awaking in the friends of the government a just concern for their happy constitution: while many animating discourses, and pathetic exhorta-

* The association may be seen at the end of the sermon.

† Doctor Secker, then bishop of Oxford, and now archbishop of Canterbury; the bishops of Salisbury

and Chester; and doctor Warburton, the present bishop of Gloucester, all delivered sermons on the same occasion.

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tions, were delivered by the most eminent preachers of the established church, and also among the dissenters*.

The magistracy of the city of London presented a loyal and dutiful address to his majesty; and their example was followed by all the principal corporations in the kingdom: while the merchants of London promised to support the public credit; and many other acts of loyalty appeared from all kinds of people in different shapes and professions; from the chiefs of the lawyers, to the heads of the quakers; and from the universities of Oxford and Cambridge to the magistrates of Edinburgh†.

While this was the situation of the kingdom, the parliament met at Westminster on the sixteenth of October, when his majesty went to the house of peers, and delivered a speech from the throne, wherein he declared, the dangers of this open and unnatural rebellion in favor of a popish pretender to his crown; and observed, that he had, throughout the whole course of his reign, made the laws of the land the rule of his government, and the preservation of the constitution in church and state, and the rights of his people the main end and aim of all his actions. “I am confident, said his majesty to his lords and gentlemen, you will act like men, who consider that every thing dear and valuable to them is attacked; and I question not, but by the blessing of God, we shall, in a short time, see this rebellion end, not only in restoring the

* The reverend Mr. John Gilbert, rector of Whippingham in the isle of Wight, addressed a letter to the clergy, wherein he recommended “that a voluntary contribution of the tenth part of the real income of every preferment in the church be tendered to his majesty for his immediate service.” This proposal

may be thought orthodoxical in another age, however neglected at this time.

† See their addresses in the London Gazette for September 1745, where it appears, that they all concurred in attributing the rebellion to the encouragement of a foreign power.

tranquility

tranquillity of my government, but in procuring greater strength to that excellent constitution which it was designed to subvert. The maxims of this constitution shall ever be the rules of my conduct. The interest of me and my people is always the same, and inseparable. In this common interest let us unite; and all those, who shall heartily and vigorously exert themselves in this just and national cause, may always depend upon my protection and favor."

Both houses returned the most dutiful and zealous addresses to his majesty: the whole southern part of the united kingdom was preparing for defence; and a general sense of the national danger had diffused itself throughout all ranks of people, and united them to repel the common calamity*.

The next day, his Royal Highness the DUKE of CUMBERLAND arrived from Holland at St. James's, where he was most joyfully received, and affectionately embraced by his majesty and the royal family.

The British troops recalled from Flanders were arrived in the Thames, under the command of the earl of Albemarle; the Dutch forces were also arrived under the command of count Maurice of Nassau; and some others were landed from Ireland. These troops, with some squadrons of horse and dragoons, were ordered to form a camp in the north of England, under the command of marshal Wade, who arrived at Newcastle † on the twenty ninth of Octo-

* "The English have, in favor of liberty, abolished all the immediate powers, which constituted their monarchy. They have then the utmost reason to preserve their liberty; were they to be so unhappy as to lose it, they would be the people on earth the most thorough-

ly enslaved." Montesquieu on the spirit of laws.

† The county town of Northumberland, seated on the north bank of the river Tyne, 14 miles E. of Durham, 60 E. of Carlisle, 63 S. E. of Berwick, 94 N. of York, and 276 N. W. of London.

ber, when he found his army assembled there. It consisted of his own regiment of horse, and the queen's regiment commanded by the duke of Montague; St. George's dragoons, and the new raised corps of Yorkshire royal hunters: the regiments of foot were those of Howard, Barrel, Wolfe, Pulteney, Blakeney, Cholmondeley, Fleming, Monro, Battereau, and the second battalion of royal Scots: with the Dutch regiments of Holstein-Gottorp, Villates, Brackell, Paitot, de la Rocque, and Hissel's three battalions of Swiss *: the whole amounting to fourteen thousand men; attended with a train of twenty field pieces of artillery. In this command the field-marshal was assisted by count Maurice of Nassau; the lieutenant-generals lord Tyrawley and Wentworth; the major-generals Oglethorpe, Howard, and Huske; with the brigadier-generals Mordaunt and Cholmondeley.

The inclemency of the season, and the fatigues the English had undergone abroad, occasioned a general indisposition, and a great mortality among the men; which obliged marshal Wade to continue at Newcastle, either till he received positive orders from the government to march into Scotland, or till the motions of the rebels threatened the invasion of England. The marshal therefore, with his usual superiority†, contented himself with publishing a proclamation, on the thirtieth of October, "promising a general pardon to all such of the rebels as should return to their houses on or before the twelfth of

* The Dutch troops were of no use, because they were the very men who had composed a part of the garrisons at Dendermond and Tournay; and were restrained by the capitulations from performing any military duty for a much longer

time than was yet expired. The French remonstrated against their taking up arms; and therefore it was necessary for the British government to make a second recall of their troops from the Netherlands.

† See this vol. p. 169.

November following, and become faithful to his majesty and his government :” but this act of clemency was entirely disregarded; though they were also assured, that “ if they continued in their rebellion, they would be proceeded against with rigor suitable to the nature of their crime*.

As the government were under strong apprehensions that the French intended to make an embarkation in favor of the young chevalier, it was thought necessary to collect a proper fleet, both on the eastern and western coasts, to watch their motions from Brest to Dunkirk. This important command was intrusted to admiral Vernon †, who was ordered to the Downs, to assemble the capital ships, for the security of the eastern coast ; while vice-admiral Martin commanded a squadron of smaller ships on the western coast ; which was contradictory to the opinion of admiral Vernon, who informed the lords of the admiralty, that “ a strong squadron kept up at sea to the westward, and a squadron of smaller ships to the north seas,

* Marshal Wade was no favorite among his officers or men ; some of whom upon this occasion dropped a note in the camp, containing the following well adapted lines from the nervous and animating speech which Shakespeare has put in the mouth of Falconbridge :

“ Oh inglorious league !
Shall we, upon the footing of our land,
Send fair-play orders, and make compromise,
Insinuation, parley, and base truce,
To arms invasive ? Shall a beardless boy
A cooker’d, filken wanton brave our fields,
And flesh his spirit in a warlike soil,
Mocking the air with colors idly spread,
And find no check ! Let us, my liege, to arms.”

King John, act V. Theobald’s Edit. vol. III. p. 405.

† This well known and ill treated commander was captain of a fifty gun ship under Sir George Byng, when the pretender attempted a descent in Scotland in 1708 ; and was thoroughly acquainted with all the coast of Scotland, and the adjacent coast of France. He had gloriously distinguished himself by the reduction of Porto Bello, in 1742, and was now admiral of the white squadron.

were

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were the only secure guardians against invasions." The lords of the admiralty were soon satisfied of the propriety of this opinion, and afterwards ordered all the three decked ships to Spithead; by which means the whole kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, were secured from any invasions, either from the coast of Bretany, Normandy, or Picardy: while admiral Vernon and his rear-admiral Mr. Byng *, with the officers, mariners, and soldiers under their command, presented a loyal address to his majesty, expressing their "just resentment of the insolence of the mountaineer rebels and robbers of North Britain, attempting to set up and support a popish pretender to the British crown."

Such were the preparations taken by the government for the suppression of this dangerous rebellion, which was continually increasing in a more formidable manner. The young chevalier was disappointed in his vain attempt on the castle of Edinburgh, by the prudence of general Gueft, and the vigilance of general Preston: but the rebels, notwithstanding the activity of the British cruisers, received fourteen thousand stand of arms, and eighty thousand pounds in money, by the arrival of three vessels from France; though a Spanish ship, destined for the same service, was intercepted, and taken into Bristol, by an English privateer†.

* The son of Sir George Byng, and remarkable for his severe and unhappy fate in 1757.

† This Spanish ship was called the St. Zirioco. She had 16 guns and 60 men; with 2500 muskets and bayonets; 100 barrels of powder, 150 quintals of musket balls, boxes of horse shoes and stints; as also twenty four thousand dollars on

board. She was taken by the Trial privateer of Bristol, commanded by captain Edward Ephraim Cook, who, in 1757, took the islands of St. Bartholomew and St. Martin, in the West Indies, from the French; for which gallant service he never obtained any reward. In fact, he was imprisoned, where he ought to have been preferred; disgraced,
The

WILLIAM DUKE of CUMBERLAND. 301

The rebels raised about fifteen hundred men in Edinburgh, and received some considerable augmentations from the highlands, where lord Lovat was clandestinely procuring them all the service in his power, which encouraged them to think of penetrating into England, in hopes of a domestic confusion, and of foreign succors. They were now all formed into regular battalions, and composed a body of near six thousand foot, and two hundred and sixty horse*.

where he should have been honored! suitable recompence for his gallant
yet it is not too late to make him a services.

* They consisted of the following numbers:

C L A N S.		
Regiments	Colonels	Men.
Lochiel	Cameron of Lochiel	700
Appin	Stewart of Ardthield	200
Clanronald	Mac Donald of Clanronald	300
Keppoch	Mac Donald of Keppoch	200
Kinloch	Mac Donald of Kinloch Moidart	100
Glenco	Mac Donald of Glenco	120
Mac Innon	Mac Innon of Mac Innon	120
Mac Pherfon	Mac Pherfon of Clunie	120
Glangary	Mac Donald of Glangary	300
Glenbucket	Gordon of Glenbucket	300
Mac Laughlan	Mac Laughlan of that Ilk	200
Strowan	Robertson of Strowan	200
Glenmoriston	Grant of Glenmoriston	100
		3140
L O W L A N D E R S.		
Athol	Lord George Murray	600
Ogilvie	Lord Ogilvie, Angus men	900
Perth	Titular duke of Perth	700
Nairn	Lord Nairn	200
Edinburgh	Roy Stewart	450
		2850
H O R S E.		
Lord Elcho and lord Balmerino		120
Lord Prilligo		80
Earl of Kilmarnock		60
		260

The

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The corps commanded by lord Elcho and lord Balmerino was composed by private gentlemen from different counties: they were uniformly cloathed in blue, faced with red, with scarlet waistcoats laced with gold; and were styled the prince's life-guards. The corps under lord Pittligo was also composed of private gentlemen uniformly accoutred: but that led by the earl of Kilmarnock consisted of inferior persons indifferently cloathed, and most of them in the highland dress. About two thousand of the clans were each of them well armed with a musket, broadsword, target, and dirk: but the others were not so properly accoutred; and above sixteen hundred had only guns. They had fifteen pieces of canon of three or four pounders, and one mortar. A great number of bagpipes were also in the army, which formed a camp at Dalkeith* on the thirtieth of October.

The rebels were determined to penetrate into England, and now the necessary dispositions were concerted for marching to Carlisle. On the first of November, they decamped in three divisions; the first column led by the young pretender, the second by the duke of Perth, and the third by the earl of Kilmarnock; who took different routs through Tweeddale, Lauderdale and Tiviotdale; assembled near Carlisle on the eighth, invested it on the ninth, and summoned it to surrender on the tenth.

Carlisle † was formerly a strong fortification, and considered as a bulwark against the Scots; but now it was greatly decayed from it's primitive strength. The castle

* Six miles S. E. of Edinburgh.

† This city is the capital of Cumberland, and is seated at the confluence of several rivers, which almost encompass it; the Peterill being on

the E. the Canda on the W. and Eden on the N. It is 60 miles S. of Edinburgh, 50 W. of Newcastle, 70 N. of Lancaster, and 301 N. N. W. of London.

however,

however, was still a considerable fortress, where colonel Durand commanded with seventy invalids: and the city was defended by the whole militia of Cumberland and Westmoreland, which ought to have been seven hundred men: so that when the rebels summoned them, they refused to surrender up the place. The rebels then made the necessary preparations to besiege it, from whence the garrison fired upon them on the thirteenth, and the next day capitulated in form, when the magistrates agreed to deliver up the town, upon condition that the garrison should have their liberty, and retire where they pleased, after taking an oath never to appear in arms any more against the rebels. This capitulation was contrary to the opinion of colonel Durand, who endeavored to defend the castle, but was obliged to surrender it for want of men. The city and castle were accordingly delivered up on the fifteenth to the duke of Perth, who immediately caused the old pretender to be proclaimed; and the young pretender made his public entry on the nineteenth, under a general salvo of the artillery. The reduction of this important city gave new hopes to the rebels, who found a thousand stand of arms in the castle; with the valuable effects which the neighboring gentlemen and principal inhabitants had deposited there, as a place of security: besides, the rebels had now a place of retreat at Carlisle, of which their duke of Perth was appointed governor. The rebels had no intention of continuing at Carlisle; but to march forwards with all possible expedition, in hopes of arriving at London, while a general panic was scattered over the nation. They left a garrison of two hundred men in the castle of Carlisle, under the command of colonel Hamil-

ton,

ton, who was appointed deputy governor; and they began their march southwards on the twenty first of November. After entering Penrith*, they advanced to Lancaster† on the twenty fourth; from whence they proceeded to Preston‡ on the twenty seventh, and the next day took possession of Manchester||, where they were joined by Mr. Townley, enlisted about one hundred men, of whom they formed what was called the Manchester regiment and appointed Mr. Townley their colonel.

During this expeditious march, they proclaimed the pretender, and collected the public money, in all the considerable places wherever they passed. They also attempted to increase the terror of some of the inhabitants, and to raise the affection of others, by representing the numbers of the insurgents as much more formidable than they really were.

Marshal Wade was too slow in his motions to protect Carlisle, and still occupied his camp near Newcastle: but he ordered lieutenant general Handasyde, who commanded the troops at North-Berwick, to repossess the city of Edinburgh.

This bold invasion of the rebels had thrown all the northern and western parts of England into the utmost confusion: therefore the city of Chester was put into a condition of defence, and all necessary precautions were taken for the security of Liverpool. Directions were also given by the government for forming another army in Staffordshire, under the command of Sir John Ligonier, to consist of eight other veteran regiments returned from

* 18 miles S. of Carlisle.

† 68 miles S. of Carlisle.

‡ 21 miles S. of Lancaster.

|| 67 miles W. S. W. of York,

39 E. N. W. of Chester, 55 N. N. W. of Derby, and 166 N. N. W. of London.

Flanders,

Flanders, and seven of the new raised regiments, who were ordered to assemble in the neighborhood of Litchfield: but this command was transferred to the DUKE of CUMBERLAND*, who took a dutiful and affectionate leave of the royal family at St. James's on the twenty sixth of November, and arrived on the twenty eighth at Litchfield†; where he found the troops in regular cantonments, extending from Tamworth to Stafford, about nineteen miles in length. The next day his Royal Highness honored the corporation of Liverpool with the following letter, in return for their acts of loyalty:

“Litchfield, Nov. 29.

Gentlemen of the Magistracy of Liverpool,

THE proofs of fidelity and zeal which you have given, and give, upon this important occasion, and of which colonel Graemes has made a very exact report, are, as they ought to be, extremely agreeable to me; and I must earnestly recommend to you to persevere in the same laudable and honorable course; and at the same time let you know how much it will be for the king's

* The following is a list of the commanders and forces assembled on this occasion:

COMMANDERS.

Sir John Ligonier, commander in chief under the DUKE of CUMBERLAND.

Lieutenant-Generals. Richmond and St. Clair.

Major-Generals. Skelton and Bland. Brigadiers. Sempill, Bligh, and Douglas.

Artillery. Leslie, Barnard and Roper, brigade-majors; 30 pieces of cannon. 6 and 3 pounders.

REGIMENTS.

Old foot: Howard, Sowle, Johnson, Douglas, Sempill, Bligh

and Skelton.

New foot: Gower, Montagu, Halifax, Granby and Cholmondeley.

Old Horse: Four troops of Ligonier's horse: Cobham's and Bland's dragoons.

New horse: Montagu, Kingston.

* A city of Staffordshire, 15 miles N.W. of Tamworth, 14 S. E. of Stafford, and 118 N. W. of London,

† A seaport town of Lancashire. 17 miles N. of Chester, 30 S. W. of Manchester, and 185 N. W. of London.

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and the nation's service, that you should not be induced either by intreaties or menaces to call back your boats and vessels of what kind soever, which you have sent off, and put under the protection of his majesty's ships of war: but that you leave them there, in the persuasion the utmost care will be had of them, and which by this messenger I recommend in the strongest manner to the commanding officer of those ships. I am very sorry your courage and good affections are put to so severe a trial, and that you are exposed to so great inconveniences: but I hope the time of your deliverance draws nigh; and that by the blessing of the Almighty, those insolent plunderers will very soon receive the just rewards of their villanies. This army will be formed in a day or two, when I shall endeavor to pursue such courses as will most effectually contribute to that end. I cannot help taking notice to you, how much I am pleased with the account colonel Greames gives me of your regiment. Be assured, I shall be glad to do any thing that may contribute to your ease and contentment, and to give you the most effective marks of my esteem; and that I am truly

Your good friend,

WILLIAM*.

His Royal Highness immediately assembled the army at Stafford, where they mustered seven thousand five hundred veteran foot, and fourteen hundred horse; with three thousand new raised foot, and eight hundred horse; in all twelve thousand seven hundred men.

* It was underwrote, "By his Royal Highness's command, Everard Fawcener." Sir Everard Fawcener, knight, was appointed secretary to the Duke, when his Royal

Highness was constituted captain-general in March 1745; and in April following he was made joint post-master-general with the earl of Leicester.

A detachment

A detachment of horse was posted at Newcastle-under-line, and his Royal Highness marched the whole body of his forces to Stone*, in expectation of meeting the rebels on their march from Congleton†: but the DUKE received intelligence that the rebels were advancing to Derby, and this occasioned the return of the royal army to Stafford; where it was resolved to march towards Northampton, and intercept the rebels in their march towards the south.

The rebels now found all their hopes of an insurrection in England entirely vain; there was no appearance of a French invasion; every wish was disappointed; their chiefs were at variance; danger was at hand; and what should they do? To march into Wales would be too dangerous a step, in so mountainous a country: besides, all the bridges and roads had been destroyed or rendered impassable on that side. If they retreated back into Scotland, marshal Wade lay ready to intercept them. If they continued to advance forwards to London, they had only the hopes of escaping by the DUKE of CUMBERLAND, and approaching the metropolis, which was then guarded with the utmost security. Their situation was every way dangerous; but the hopes of escaping the DUKE of CUMBERLAND encouraged them to advance southwards; and, on the fourth of December, they entered Derby‡, which was the farthest progress of their desperate expedition.

* A town of Staffordshire, seated on the river Trent, 22 miles N.W. of Litchfield, and 41 S.E. of Chester.

† A town of Cheshire. 7 miles S. of Macclesfield, and 157 N.W. of London.

‡ The county town of Derbyshire, seated on the river Derwent,

36 miles N. of Coventry, 24 N.W. of Leicester, and 122 N.N.W. of London.—The rebels continued only one day at Manchester, for they set out, on the thirtieth of November, for Derby, in two divisions, which united at Macclesfield on the first of December: the next day they resumed their march

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Never was there any instance of the Scotch insurgents penetrating so far into the bowels of England, which put the whole kingdom into a consternation; especially as great preparations were then making at Dunkirk and Calais for an invasion: but by the favor of providence, the steadiness of the king, the heroic conduct of the DUKE, and the vigilance of admiral Vernon, supported by an uncommon zeal among all ranks of people, such precautions were taken as intimidated the French, dispirited the rebels, and protected the nation. A camp was ordered to be formed on Finchley common, where the king resolved to take the field in person, accompanied by marshal Stair. The rebel manifestoes were publicly burnt at the Royal Exchange, by the hands of the common hangman, and in the presence of the sheriffs of London, pursuant to a resolution of the lords and commons, who had voted them false, scandalous and traitorous libels. A proclamation was published for putting the laws in execution against popish priests and jesuits: and a bill was passed to enable his majesty to raise the militia*.

Admiral Vernon narrowly watched all the preparations on the coast of France, and made such an excellent disposition with his cruizers, that the French were intimidated from making an invasion. They succeeded, however, in landing five hundred men, under the command of lord John Drummond, brother to the titular duke of Perth, at Aberdeen, Peterhead, and Montrose, from whence they marched to Perth, and were joined by a body of

in two columns, one of which entered Congleton, and the other passed near Gawsworth: on the third, the one division proceeded to Leake, and the other to Ashburn:

from whence they marched on the fourth, and united at Derby.

* By which 36,250 men could be raised in England, and 2300 in Wales.

highlanders

highlanders under the command of different chiefs : but admiral Vernon's cruizers took two French ships, on board of which were fifty officers and three hundred and fifty men ; among whom were Charles Ratcliffe, esquire, and the son of this unfortunate gentleman*. Admiral Vernon also took several other French vessels loaded with cannon and military stores for Scotland : but these eminent services of this gallant admiral were ill-rewarded ; for, as he acquainted the duke of Bedford, " He was hunted out of his command, by the operative hand of some malicious and industrious agent†." After which vice-admiral Martin succeeded to the command.

The government had intelligence, that six thousand of the Irish brigades were to be embarked in large ships for Scotland : but the embarkation of the French national troops, consisting of twelve thousand men, commanded by count Lowendahl and the younger son of the pretender, was to be somewhere in England, for which all the fishing boats on the coast were taken up ; and with which the French intended to make their passage upon the next full moon in December. In fact, they had assembled in the harbor of Boulogne, sixteen sail of ships and other vessels, thirty six galliots, and about ninety fishing boats : they had also six privateers of considerable force, a half

* Mr. Ratcliffe was the youngest brother of the late unhappy James earl of Derwentwater, who was beheaded in 1716. He was also taken prisoner in the rebellion of 1715, and was condemned to die, but escaped out of Newgate. His fate was only procrastinated, for he was beheaded in 1746.

† This brave and worthy admiral published a kind of his case, in the year 1746, in two pamphlets :

the one intitled, " A specimen of naked truth, from a British sailor, a sincere well-wisher to the honor and prosperity of the present royal family and his country." The other, " Some seasonable advice from an honest sailor, to whom it might have concerned for the service of the c——n and c——y." The former contained 30 pages, and the latter 109.

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galley, ten galliot hoys, and a great number of shallops at Calais, all ready for sailing, with several English smugglers for pilots. The credibility was so universally prevalent, that his Britannic majesty sent a message * to the house of commons, importing, "That his majesty having received undoubted intelligence that preparations were making at Dunkirk and other ports in France, for invading Britain with a considerable number of forces, in support of the rebellion; and some French troops being actually landed in Scotland; his majesty thought proper to acquaint the house with an event of such high importance to his crown, and to the peace and security of his kingdoms: informing them, that he judged it necessary to direct the six thousand Hessians in British pay, to be brought into the kingdom, the more effectually to repel the invasion, and suppress the rebellion." A proclamation was also published to cause the coasts to be carefully watched; and immediately, upon the first approach of an enemy, to cause all horses and cattle fit for draught or burden, to be removed at least twenty miles from the place where the enemy should attempt to land †.

The kingdom of Ireland retained and expressed every sense and act of zeal and loyalty to his majesty, whose illustrious representative, the earl of Chesterfield assembled the parliament of that kingdom on the eighth of October, when his excellency opened the session with an elegant speech, wherein he acquainted both houses of the advantages they had enjoyed under a succession of protes-

* On the 9th of December, by the chancellor of the exchequer.

† The signals issued by admiral Vernon, upon this occasion, to the several parishes on the coast, for communicating intelligence from

Beachy-head to the South-Foreland †, may be seen in the "Specimen of naked truth, &c." p. 11. and are worthy the observation of all naval commanders, especially upon any other exigence.

tant princes, and observed, that “ These considerations must necessarily excite your highest indignation at the attempt now carrying on in Scotland, to disturb his majesty’s government, by a pretender to his crown: one nursed up in civil and religious error; formed to persecution and oppression, in the seat of superstition and tyranny; whose groundless claim was as contrary to the natural rights of mankind, as to the particular laws and constitutions of these kingdoms; whose only hopes of support were placed in the enemies of the liberties of Europe in general; and whose success would consequently destroy your liberty, your property, and your religion.” From the bright example of his excellency, the spirit of loyalty diffused itself instantaneously among all the protestants throughout the kingdom; and the papists, by their respectable deportment, attracted the respect of the government.

While Ireland was thus in a state of tranquillity, Scotland was bleeding to the heart. Lord John Drummond established his head-quarters at Perth, and published a declaration, as commander in chief of the French forces in Scotland, importing that the French monarch would support the pretender to the utmost; and denouncing destruction to all who should not assist him. He was soon joined by lord Lewis Gordon with two hundred and fifty men from the county of Marr; and these were soon reinforced by the earl of Cromartie and lord Strathallan with three hundred of the Mackenzies, three hundred of the Mac Intoshes, and one hundred and twenty of the Farquharsons and the Guns; making, together with the French, and those under lord Lewis Gordon, a body of fourteen hundred and seventy men. To oppose this force, the loyal earl of Loudon, and Duncan Forbes, esquire,

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the lord president of Scotland, had assembled fourteen hundred and eighty men in the neighborhood of Inverness*; consisting of four hundred and fifty, under the young laird of Mac Cleod; one hundred and twenty of the Grants, under Rothemarcus; two hundred Monroes under Culcairn; two hundred and fifty of the Mac Kenzies belonging to lord Fortrose; one hundred and twenty of the Guns, under Mac Kemish; two hundred belonging to the earl of Sutherland; and the new highland regiment of five hundred men commanded by the earl of Loudoun.

Simon lord Lovat, chief of the clan of Frasers, in the county of Inverness, was justly suspected to be a principal accomplice in the rebellion; though he had the artifice to conceal it for a considerable time; but now he imagined there was a safe and favorable opportunity to exert his interest for the success of the cause in which he had originally and capitally embarked. The pretender promised to make him duke of Bewlie and Frazer, as also lieutenant-general of the highlands. He was now in the seventy-fourth year of his age, and with all his subtilty was chiefly animated by ambition. The lord president, who was his neighbor, on the twenty eighth of October, wrote him an expostulatory letter from Inverness, on the danger he run by promoting the rebellion, and after observing that some kind of apology might be offered in defence of most of the leading men who followed the young pretender, he asks, " what shall I say in favor of you, my lord? you, who in the beginning of your

* A sea-port town, and capital of the county of Inverness, seated at the mouth of the river Ness, on

Murray Frith, 60 miles N. E. of Inverlochy, and 106 N. of Edinburgh.

days, forfeited both your life and fortune * ; and yet, by the benignity of the government, was not only indulged the liberty of living at home, but even restored to all you could lay claim to : nay, his majesty's goodness went so far as to employ your lordship in his service, and was pleased to honor you with the command of one of the independent companies that were raised some years ago in the highlands, which you enjoyed a long time : so that both duty and gratitude ought to have influenced your lordship's conduct, and disposed you to have acted a part quite different from what you have done. But if your lordship continues obstinate, and will not order your men to disband and return home, I shall be obliged to take you into custody." Lord Lovat answered this letter the next day in a very artful, evasive and equivocal manner : whereby he threw the whole blame upon his son ; yet palliated the nature of the rebellion, intimated that it might succeed, and boasted he would stand on his defence. " If I am attacked, says he, by the king's guards, and his CAPTAIN-GENERAL at their head, I will defend myself as long as I have breath in me."

|| He committed a rape upon his own aunt, the lady-dowager of Lovat.

† On account of his bad conduct general Wade vacated his commission, and broke the company in 1736.

‡ He told the lord president, " I see, by your letter, that for my misfortunes in having an obstinate stubborn son, and an ungrateful kindred, my family must go to destruction, and I must lose my life in my

old age. Such usage looks rather like a Turkish or Persian government, than like a British. Am I the first father that has had an undutiful and unnatural son ! or am I the first man that has made a good estate, and saw it destroyed in his own time, by the mad foolish actions of an unnatural son, who prefers his own extravagant fancies to the solid advices of an affectionate old father."

" Treason is but trusted like a fox,
Who ne'er so tame, so cherish'd, and lock'd up,
Will have a wild trick of his ancestors."

Shakespeare's first part of King Henry IV. act V.
He

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He therefore compelled his son the young master of Lovat, to march with five hundred of his clan, and form the blockade of Fort Augustus; in which the rebels were circumvented by the vigilance of the earl of Loudon, who afterwards scoured all the north within twelve miles of Aberdeen, where lord Lewis Gordon was stationed with a considerable force.

The rebels had surprized and taken the Hazard sloop of war, of sixteen guns, with which they fortified the harbor of Montrose. They had also received a supply from Spain, and had fifteen pieces of cannon at Perth, with which they intended to undertake the siege of Sterling; as they were now not only become masters of all the east parts of Scotland, from Aberdeen to the firth of Tay; but had even taken possession of Dumblain, Down-castle and laid Fife under contribution.

The young pretender continued at Derby, where he took up his residence at the earl of Exeter's house, and his principal officers had their quarters at the most convenient places*. The DUKE of CUMBERLAND, there-

"Yet doth he give us bold advertisement,
That with our small conjunction we should on,
To see how fortune is disposed to us:
For, as he writes, there is no quailing now;
Because the king is certainly possess'd
Of all our purposes."

Ibid, act V.

* Many common ordinary houses both public and private, had 40 and 50 men each, and some gentlemen near 100; but the following is an

exact account of the rebels quartered in the several parishes in this town:

Parishes,	First Night.	Second Night,
St Warburgh	1590	1641
All Saints	2979	327
St. Peter	1091	1001
St. Michael	724	724
St. Alemond	714	755
	7098	7148

fore

fore, altered his intended march, and encamped his army on Meriden common, near Coventry* : while marshal Wade advanced from Newcastle, and arrived at Wetherby on the fourth of December.

These dispositions of the royal forces threw the rebels in the greatest perplexity, as they found themselves inclosed by two considerable armies ; and that nearest them under the command of a warm, vigilant and well esteemed general. Their fear naturally bred confusion, and their danger created distrust. Their councils were agitated with all the disorder and passion attendant on men in their dangerous situation, and desperate circumstances. Some were for advancing forwards ; others for fighting the DUKE : but the majority were for returning to Scotland, and joining the forces under lord John Drummond, before they were cut off from all possibility of a retreat ; which was therefore determined, and immediately put into execution. Their whole army precipitately abandoned Derby on the sixth, and marched with such expedition through Ashbourne, Leake, Manchester, Leigh, and Wiggan, that they re-entered Preston on the twelfth, and continued their march northwards with the same celerity ; but they shewed a warm spirit of resentment for their disappointment, by plundering a great part of the country, and levying contributions wherever they could†.

The DUKE of CUMBERLAND, on the seventh, put himself at the head of all the horse and dragoons, with one thousand volunteers, to stop the rebels till the rest of

* A city of Warwickshire, 37 miles S. of Derby, 26 N. W. of Litchfield, and 92 N. W. of London.

† A town in the west riding of Yorkshire, 14 miles W. of York, and 177 N. W. of London.

‡ Yet a Scotch writer very modestly asserts, that " no violence was offered ; no outrages committed ; and they were effectually restrained from the exercise of rapine." Smollet, numb. cv. p. 219.

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the royal army came up, or to harraſs them in their retreat: but his Royal Highneſs could not overtake even their rear till after their departure from Preſton.

The rebels were in a dangerous ſituation; their march was retarded by the inhabitants of the county; the duke at their backs; and marſhal Wade advancing in their front: but the rebels eſcaped the marſhal, who returned to Newcaſtle with his infantry, and detached major-general Oglethorpe, on the eleventh, with the Royal-Hunters, the two regiments of horſe, and the regiment of dragoons, to join the DUKE of CUMBERLAND. The general performed a laborious march of one hundred miles, over ice and ſnow, through a dangerous and almoſt impaſſable road, in leſs than three days, and conducted the cavalry to Preſton on the thirteenth, a few hours after it was quitted by the rebels, who continued their march with ſuch rapidity, that they paſſed through Lancaſter, and arrived at Kendal on the fifteenth.

The DUKE of CUMBERLAND joined general Oglethorpe at Preſton, and purſued the rebels ſo cloſely, that he came up with their rear-guard on the eighteenth, within three miles of Penrith: upon which Lord George Murray threw his men into the village of Clifton*, where they had great advantages from the ſituation of the place, and from ſome broken walls which ſerved them inſtead of retrenchments. His Royal Highneſs, however, diſmounted two regiments of dragoons, and cauſed the place immediately to be attacked. The rebels made an obſtinate defence for about an hour, when they gave way, and owed their preſervation to the darkneſs of the evening. They had ſeveral men killed, though they endeavored to

* Near Lowther-hall, in Weſtmoreland, three miles from Penrith in Cumberland.

conceal their number : but they had also seventy taken prisoners, among whom was a captain of hussars. The DUKE of CUMBERLAND in person animated the dragoons, of whom about forty were killed and wounded*.

While the rear-guard of the rebels were engaged at Clifton, their main body was at Penrith, from whence they proceeded that night, and re-entered Carlisle the next day, in terrible confusion and excessively fatigued†.

The DUKE of CUMBERLAND halted at Penrith, for the arrival of his infantry, which had been diligently following him, under the command of the duke of Richmond, and lieutenant-general St. Clair, the major-generals Skelton, and Bland; and the brigadiers lord Sempill, Bligh, and Douglas. The rebels were afraid to continue at Carlisle : but they reinforced the garrison of the castle with an hundred Scotch and a few French; and meanly left the city to be defended by colonel Towneley, with his little Manchester regiment. After which, the rebel army crossed the Eden and Solway, re-entered Scotland, separated in two columns, and directed their march for Glasgow; because marshal Wade had detached major-general Huske and brigadier-general Cholmondeley, with eight battalions, for the security of Edinburgh.

The DUKE of CUMBERLAND, on the twenty-first, proceeded with his whole army, in three columns, towards Carlisle, which he invested on all sides: but the blockade was continued for seven days without opening

* Among the wounded were lieutenant-colonel Honeywood of Bland's regiment, captain Eist, and the cornets Owen and Hamilton. Lond. Gaz. Dec. 21, 1745. When these officers were wounded, the rebels cried, "No quarter,

murder them;" and they received several wounds after they were down." Ibid, Dec. 24.

† They had marched 150 miles in twelve days, at the most uncomfortable time of the year.

the trenches, in expectation of the heavy cannon which his Royal Highness had ordered from Whitehaven*. All this time the rebels seemed resolutely determined upon a vigorous defence, and made a continual but ineffectual fire until the twenty-eighth, when they began to be intimidated by a battery of six eighteen pounders, which his Royal Highness had erected; and, on the thirtieth, they hung out a white flag, with an offer of hostages for a capitulation. The DUKE immediately sent a message by lord Bury and colonel Conway, his aid-du-camps, to acquaint them, that "he would make no exchange of hostages with rebels; but desired they would let him know what they meant by hanging out the white flag?" Colonel Conway returned with a paper, signed by the deputy-governor Hamilton, "desiring to know what terms his Royal Highness would please to give them, upon the surrender of the city and castle; and which known, his Royal Highness should be duly acquainted with their ultimate resolution; the white flag being hung out on purpose to obtain a cessation of arms for concluding such a capitulation." Colonel Conway and lord Bury were soon after sent back with the terms signed by the duke of Richmond, by order of his Royal Highness, importing, "that all the terms his Royal Highness would or could grant to the rebel garrison, were, that they should not be put to the sword, but reserved for the king's pleasure: and if they consented to these conditions, the governor and principal officers were to deliver themselves up immediately; and the castle, citadel and all the gates of the town, were to be taken possession of forthwith by the king's

* A sea port town of Cumberland, 56 miles S. W. of Chester, and 250 N. W. of London;

troops :

troops : that all the small arms were to be lodged in the town-guard-room; and the rest of the garrison were to retire to the cathedral, where a guard was to be placed over them : and that no damage was to be done to the artillery, arms or ammunition." The governor and garrison accepted the capitulation; recommending themselves to the royal clemency, and the interposition of the DUKE of CUMBERLAND for their pardon. Brigadier Bligh then took possession of the place with a thousand foot and one hundred and twenty horse; when colonel Townley, with eighteen of his officers, and ninety three of the men, belonging to the Manchester regiment were taken; as also was governor Hamilton, with seventeen officers and two hundred and fifty six private men, all Scotch: besides there were taken James Cappoch, the titular bishop of Carlisle; Sir James Geogean, Sir John Arbuthnot, and colonel Strickland, with a serjeant, and four private men in the French service. The artillery taken consisted of sixteen pieces of different bore, all brass, but none exceeding four pounders.

Such was the fate of this unfortunate garrison, who were sacrificed to the safety of their pretended prince. The magistrates of Carlisle were also taken into custody for surrendering the town to the rebels: but they vindicated their conduct in such a manner as to gain their release.

The DUKE of CUMBERLAND, by the retaking Carlisle, restored security to all the northern parts of England, and returned to London, where he arrived on the fifth of January, surrounded by the acclamations of the populace. The old regiments continued on the borders of Scotland, and the new ones returned home: while lieutenant-general Hawley, who commanded as a lieutenant-colonel against the pretender in 1715, and was now appointed commander

commander in chief of the forces in Scotland, was preparing to follow the rebels, who during the whole time of their retreat from Derby to Scotland, were observed to behave with greater severity than before. They even plundered Dumfries, and exacted large contributions at Glasgow; after which they marched to Sterling, where they were reinforced by lord John Drummond with the northern levies, and undertook to reduce the town and castle by a siege.

The rebels, on the fifth of January, 1746, closely invested the town of Sterling with the main body of their army; while the earl of Kilmarnock was posted with a strong detachment at Falkirk, eight miles south of Sterling, to cover the siege, which was carried on so vigorously against the town, that the magistrates surrendered up the gates on the eighth: but major-general Blakeney was determined to defend the castle to the last extremity; and the besiegers suffered prodigiously by the continued fire of the besieged.

Lieutenant-general Hawley assumed his command at Edinburgh, where he found himself at the head of three regiments of dragoons, and fourteen regular battalions, besides three battalions of the country troops; with which he determined to raise the siege of Sterling: because if the rebels succeeded in the siege, it would give them an opportunity of securing the interior country for the winter, by which they might be induced to make a strong fortification at Perth; and then they would be capable of maintaining themselves along the coasts on both sides of the country, which would facilitate their receiving supplies from abroad. On the thirteenth of January, he detached major-general Huske, with five regiments of foot and three squadrons of dragoons, to dislodge the earl
of

of Kilmarnock from Falkirk, where he was posted with sixteen hundred men, who retired to Stirling on the approach of general Hulse to Linlithgow*; and the rebels then formed the resolution to attack the royalists.

The royal forces, on the seventeenth of January, were all assembled at Falkirk†, consisting of nine hundred horse, and eight thousand six hundred foot‡, with twelve field pieces: but general Hawley received such uncertain accounts of the rebels, that he came to the resolution of deferring the attack until the next day; as well in regard to the foulness of the weather, as because he was desirous of obtaining such intelligence as might enable him to make the most advantageous dispositions for acting against them with his cavalry and artillery. The rebels, however, were so impatient of action, that they left Stirling on the sixteenth, and were in full march the next morning with five hundred horse, and eight thousand seven hundred and sixty foot§. They advanced in two columns, and were seen by the piquets of the royal army, about noon, at three miles distance, marching towards the south, to some rising grounds upon a moor within a mile of Fal-

* 14 miles S. E. of Stirling, and 17 W. of Edinburgh.

† A small town in the county of Stirling, where Edward I. of England defeated the Scots, under their brave general William Wallace, on the 22d of July, 1298. See Rapin, vol. I. p. 380. Buchanan.

‡ The horse were the three regiments of dragoons of Cobham, Hamilton, and colonel Ligonier, who succeeded colonel Gardiner. The foot were the regiments of Wolf, Cholmondeley, Pulteney, Price, Blakeney, Monro, Fleming, Barrel, Battersau, and the second battalion of royal Scots, with the

Glasgow regiment commanded by the earl of Hume, and 1000 Argyllshire highlanders under lieutenant-colonel Campbell.

§ The battalions of Keppoch, 465 men; Clanronald, 400; Glen-gary, 900; Glenbucket and Appin 500; Lochiel, 900; Cluney, 400; Fraser, 400; Athol, 1000; Ogilvie, 1000; Nairn, 700; and Farquhar-son, 700; with a battalion of 900 under lord Lewis Gordon, and the French under lord John Drummond: the cavalry were Elcho's and Pitt-figo's horse; Kilmarnock's dragoons and the young pretender's guards.

kirk. This occasioned general Hawley to form his troops immediately in the front of his camp, and march towards the enemy, to get the advantage of the rising grounds on the left of the camp: but as soon as the troops arrived there, they perceived the rebels moving up, with their right wing extending to the south.

The rebel army was drawn up in two lines, without any body of reserve. The right wing was commanded by lord George Murray, who formed the disposition: the left wing was conducted by lord John Drummond: and the young pretender was in the centre with the cavalry. General Hawley also drew up his infantry in two lines, with the dragoons on the left, and the Scotch militia in reserve; the general himself commanded on the left wing, and major-general Huske on the right. Both armies were eager to possess the eminencies of the hill, and were ascending it about three o'clock, in a violent storm of wind and rain, which blew full in the faces of the royalists*. General Hawley could not get his cannon up the acclivity of the hill, where he perceived that a morass had given the rebels an opportunity of out-flanking him: so that when his troops were within one hundred yards of the enemy, he ordered the lines to advance, and a body of dragoons to begin the attack sword in hand. This was gallantly executed by colonel Ligonier, who broke the first line of the rebels: but on their advancing again, with a smart fire, the dragoons gave ground, and bore back

* A very great storm of wind and rain arose in the beginning of the engagement, which beating upon the faces of the king's troops, was very disadvantageous to them." Lond. Gaz. Ex. Jan. 23. first account.

" Besides, as it rained also before that, many of the firelocks were so wet, that it is believed not above one in five that were attempted to be fired, went off." Ibid. second account.

upon

upon the foot, who took the panic, and after an irregular discharge, occasioned by the rain damping their powder, followed the example of the dragoons; every where retiring, except on the right, where brigadier-general Cholmondeley rallied the regiments of Barrel and Price, who resolutely advanced and drove the rebels before them. Major-general Huske also drew together a body of foot, and formed them at some distance in the rear of those two regiments; which intimidated some of the rebel battalions from advancing on the right, and gave brigadier Mordaunt time to rally and form the scattered battalions into their several corps, while colonel Ligonier rallied the dragoons. Thus general Huske gallantly secured the retreat of the royal forces to Falkirk, from whence they retreated to Linlithgow, after setting fire to their camp, and leaving most of their artillery and baggage to the rebels, who never offered to pursue them.

The royal army lost about three hundred men killed and wounded: among the former were Sir Robert Monro *, and his brother; the lieutenant-colonels Whitney, Biggar, and Powel: brigadier Cholmondeley was among the wounded, and contracted a palsy from the cold he caught in the field; and colonel Ligonier, who was extremely indisposed with a pleurisy before the battle, contracted a quinsy, by exposing himself to the inclemency of the weather, which occasioned his death ten days after the battle. Several captains and subalterns were also among the wounded and prisoners. But the rebels lost no officer

* He had been lieutenant-colonel of the highland regiment; and after the battle of Fontenoy was made colonel of general Ponsonby's regiment.

† A monument was afterwards erected in Westminster-abbey to the memory of this gallant officer, with the following inscription:

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of distinction, and not half the common men as the royal-
ists; though lord John Drummond was wounded in the arm.

Lieutenant-general Hawley still retreated back to Edin-
burgh, where he was joined by the officers who had been
taken prisoners at Preston-Pans, and were confined in the
county of Fife, from whence their escape was favored
by the inhabitants, on the rebels recalling the troops that
guarded them to strengthen their army at Falkirk.

The animated rebels returned to Stirling, and recom-
menced the siege of the castle, which they prosecuted
only to their own destruction. They also ordered the
Hazard sloop to sail to France from Montrose, with the
news of their advantage, which they magnified extremely,
in hopes of a sufficient reinforcement: but cardinal Ten-
coin could not obtain the promised success from the King,
without the assistance of the Spanish Squadron at Ferrol:

Sacred to
FRANCIS LIGONIER, Esq;
Colonel of dragoons,
A native of France,
Descended from a very ancient and very honorable
family there;
But a zealous protestant,
and subject of England,
Sacrificing himself for its defence,
Against a popish pretender.
At the battle of FALKIRK,
in the year 1745.
A distemper could not confine him to his bed,
When his duty called him to the field,
Where he chose to meet death,
Rather than in the arms of his friends:
But the disease proving more victorious than the enemy,
He expired soon after the battle;
Where, under all the agonies of sickness and pain,
He exerted a spirit of vigor and heroism!
To the memory of such a brave and beloved brother,
This monument is placed by
SIR JOHN LIGONIER, knight of the Bath,
General of horse in the British army,
With just grief and brotherly affection.

so that the young pretender, though encouraged by France and Spain, to undertake this dangerous attempt, was abandoned to his own fortune; which soon convinced him that he was only the occasional tool of their politics, not the real object of their care.

General Hawley incurred the public censure; but he was beloved by his sovereign; and the defeat at Falkirk, instead of discouraging the government, served only to render it more assiduous and attentive for the national preservation, in providing more effectual means to extinguish so dangerous a flame. The Dutch troops, from their restriction of performing any military service, were re embarked at Newcastle, on the twenty-seventh of December, and reconducted back to Williamstadt in Holland; where the six thousand Hessians in British pay were assembling from Antwerp, to embark for Scotland on board the same transports, in which the Dutch returned. Though the Hessians were daily expected to land in the neighborhood of Edinburgh, yet their arrival was thought insufficient to eradicate the rebellion with that expedition as was requisite both for the general interest of Europe and the domestic tranquility of Great Britain; therefore, a resolution was taken to make such an augmentation of the national forces in Scotland, as might secure the kingdom from any farther apprehensions of danger. It was also judged necessary to set a general of the highest estimation at the head of the army; one whose presence might reanimate the dejected spirit of the soldiers, extinguish all animosities, encourage the well-affected inhabitants of Scotland, and strike terror to the triumphing rebels. No commander was thought so proper for this important duty as his Royal Highness the DUKE of CUM-

BERLAND : the service of his country, the protection of the protestant succession, the happiness of his family, and the increase of his own glory, all summoned his Royal Highness to complete what he had so nobly begun ; all contributed to rouse his martial ardor ; and he eagerly flew to re-appear at the head of those brave veterans whose courage he had experienced at Fontenoy.

His Royal Highness had frequent conferences with his majesty, of whom he took a most tender farewell amid the affectionate embraces of all the royal family at St. James's, from whence he set out on the twenty-fifth of January, about midnight, attended by lord Cathcart, lord Bury, eldest son to the earl of Albemarle, colonel Conway, and colonel York, his aid-de-camps ; and travelled with such expedition that he made his arrival at Holy-rood house in Edinburgh, on the thirtieth*, to the universal joy of the army, and the general satisfaction of the inhabitants. The soldiers were so much animated by his appearance, that they shewed the most earnest desire of recovering their late disgrace ; nor was their laudable zeal suffered to abate by his Royal Highness ; but as the expected national reinforcements were arrived, and every thing was in excellent order for the march, he immediately gave the necessary directions for putting the troops in motion, with a resolution to raise the siege of Stirling castle, which the rebels were still ineffectually attempting to reduce.

* " Edinburgh, Jan. 30. This morning, about three o'clock, his Royal Highness the DUKE of CUMBERLAND arrived here in perfect health, and having found the army in readiness to move, his Royal Highness proposes to march as far as Linlithgow to morrow, with fourteen battalions, and Cobham's and Mark Kerr's dragoons." Lond. Gaz. Feb. 4.

The army, now assembled under the command of the DUKE of CUMBERLAND, consisted of twelve squadrons^s and fourteen battalions. The cavalry were composed of the regiments of dragoons, commanded by major-general St. George, marshal Cobham, lord Mark Kerr, colonel Naizon, who succeeded colonel Ligonier, and major-general Hamilton, with the new regiment of horse raised by the duke of Kingston. The infantry consisted of the regiments of Howard, Barrel, Wolfe, Scotch fusileers, Blakeney, Cholmondeley, Fleming, Monro, Battereau, late Ligonier, Price, Sempill, Pulteney, and the second battalion of the royal Scots; besides the Argyleshire highlanders under colonel Campbell: but all the regiments were greatly diminished, and some not above half complete.

The DUKE of CUMBERLAND was assisted by the earl of Albemarle, and Henry Hawley, esquire, as lieutenant-generals; the major-generals Bland, Huske, and lord Sempill; and brigadier Mordaunt. The army marched from Edinburgh, on the thirty-first, in two columns consisting of all the foot and three regiments of dragoons*. His Royal Highness took up his quarters the same night at Linlithgow, with eight battalions; while brigadier Mordaunt with six others lay at Boroughstonness†: the dragoons were stationed in the adjacent villages; and colonel Campbell, with the Argyleshire men, took post in the front of the army, towards Avon. A large body of the rebels were then at Falkirk, and some of them ap-

* "Edinburgh, Jan. 30. There will be left here our own regiment and many of the country militia, besides the garrison of the castle, and the dragoons of Hamilton and Ligonier; and on Saturday Bligh's

regiment of foot will arrive." London Gaz. Feb. 4.

† A town of W. Lothian, lying on the Forth, and next to Leith carries on the most considerable trade.

peaked on the hills between that place and Linlithgow; which made the DUKE of CUMBERLAND expect that the rebels would give him battle; but on resuming the march the next morning, his Royal Highness had intelligence that the rebels had abandoned the siege, blown up their great magazine, and were repassing the Forth with all imaginable diligence. This occasioned the DUKE to detach brigadier Mordaunt, with the dragoons and Argyleshire highlanders, to harass the rebels in their retreat. The brigadier arrived the same evening at Stirling, where he found the rebels had abandoned their camp: but it was then too late to continue the pursuit; and of the proceedings of this day we have been favored with the three following authentic accounts:

A Copy of a letter from his Royal Highness the DUKE of CUMBERLAND to the duke of Newcastle.

Falkirk, Feb. 1, 1745-6.

My lord duke of Newcastle,
IN my last, of the thirtieth past, I informed you of our intention to march to the relief of Stirling-castle. When I wrote that, I hoped that the rebels, flushed with their late success, would have given us an opportunity of finishing this affair at once, which, I am morally sure, would have been in our favor, as the troops in general shewed all the spirit that I could wish, and would have retrieved whatever steps are past: but, to my great astonishment, the rebels have blown up their powder magazine, and are retired over the Forth at Frew*, leaving their cannon behind them, and a number of their sick

* Four miles above Stirling, whose bridge was broke down by general Blakeney,

and

and wounded, besides twenty of our wounded prisoners taken at the late affair, which I have found here. I hope to be at Stirling to-morrow, from whence I shall be better able to inform you of all this strange fight.

Brigadier Mordaunt, with the two regiments of dragoons, and lieutenant-colonel Campbell, with the highlanders, are in pursuit of them.

I am your affectionate friend,
WILLIAM.

II. Copy of a letter from his Royal Highness the Duke of CUMBERLAND to the lord justice clerk*.

"Camp at Falkirk, Feb. 1, 1745-6.

My lord justice clerk,

I thought it proper to give you an account of what has happened since I left Edinburgh."

[After mentioning the march to Linlithgow as above described, his Royal Highness says of the rebels] "They gave it out, that they intended to stand another action with the king's forces; but at the same time seemed very uneasy for their baggage, which they were endeavoring to secure on the other side of the Forth. They were very much disappointed at the defence general Blakeney had made in Surling castle; and said, it was impossible for man to take it.

This morning early, word was brought that the rebels had retired to the Torwood, and intended to make a stand there; and that the rest of them from Stirling would join them at that place.

* The eighth officer of state in Scotland before the union; and since that time the fourth; the other three being the lord privy-seal, lord register, and lord advocate.

I reviewed

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I reviewed the whole army this morning, before we marched, who were in the highest spirits. The advanced parties of the rebels retired with precipitation on the approach of ours, and our foremost scouts brought in some stragglers, who said the rebels were repassing the Forth in a good deal of confusion, being afraid, as they said, of another battle, because of the increase of our strength, and the great desertion there had been among the clans, which had much diminished their numbers. On our march we heard two great reports, like the blowing up of some magazine, and it was soon confirmed to us; for the rebels had blown up a very large quantity of powder in the church of St. Ninian before they went off.

On my arrival here, I found all our wounded men, whom they made prisoners in the late action, and in their retreat had been obliged to leave them behind: and I hear they have left their artillery at Stirling spiked up.

As soon as I came here, I detached immediately brigadier Mordaunt with the Argyleshire men, and all the dragoons, in pursuit of them; though it is imagined that most of them will have escaped at the ford of Frew, as they generally make a good deal of haste at their going off. They have lost a great many men at Stirling, and say it is all over with them, and they shall make to Montrose. One circumstance is particular, that lady Kilmarnock, who till last night had always staid at Culloden-house, went off with them.

I propose to march to-morrow morning to Stirling, and there to take measures for further quieting these parts of his majesty's dominions.

I am, &c.

WILLIAM."

III. Copy

WILLIAM DUKE OF CUMBERLAND. 331

III. Copy of lord chief justice clerk's letter to the duke of Newcastle.

“ Edinburgh, Feb. 1, 1745-6.

My lord duke,

THE arrival of his Royal Highness the DUKE has done the business, animated our army, and struck the rebels with terror and confusion. He lost no time to improve these advantages, marched the whole army yesterday to Linlithgow and the adjacent places, and continued his march this morning to Falkirk, the rebels always flying before him. This morning the rebels renewed their firing against Stirling castle; but general Blakeney continuing to make a good defence, they raised the siege, and have blown up their magazine of powder, and, as believed, have spiked their cannon, and the whole army of the rebels have fled with precipitation, and crossed the Forth at the ford of Frew. His Royal Highness has sent on the dragoons and Argyleshire men to take possession of Stirling, and remains with the foot this night at Falkirk. Wishing your grace joy of this great and good news. I am, &c.

ANDREW FLETCHER.”

THE DUKE of CUMBERLAND entered Stirling with the whole army on the second at noon, when he received the compliments of the brave general Blakeney and his officers; whose services were highly commended by his Royal Highness for their gallant defence of such an important fortress*. But the royal army were obliged to

* This castle, commanding the passes between the N. and S. of Scotland, was the residence of the Scottish kings, and parliaments were formerly held here. The rebels endeavored to possess themselves of this castle in 1715, but were prevented by the late John

continue

continue in the town until the bridge was rebuilt, which was completed in two days.*

The rebels retired with such celerity, that the principal part of their army entered Perth the same night that brigadier Mordaunt arrived at Stirling. They also evacuated Perth with great precipitation, leaving behind them thirteen pieces of cannon nailed up, and throwing a great quantity of ammunition into the river †, after which they separated, and continued their march northwards, in three columns. The first, consisting of the clans, and headed by their pretended prince, took their way by Dunkeld through Athol and Badenoch, towards the shire of Mur-

duke of Argyle. "The castle would have held out, but the provisions and firing were almost consumed." *Lond. Gaz.* Feb. 6. King Edward I. took the castle in 1134. *Rapin*, vol. I. p. 383. "General Monk took the strong castle of Stirling from the royalists, in 1651, with 5000 stand of arms, and a rich booty, among which were the regalia of Scotland, and the public records. These records were sent to England, from whence they never returned; as the ship in which they were sent back, after the restoration, was lost at sea." *Rapin*, vol. II. p. 386. *Englishman's history of England*, vol. IV. p. 313. King Edward I. after conquering Baliol king of Scotland at Dunbar, in 1296, removed the regalia and the famous stone of Stone, inclosed in a wooden chair, on which the inauguration of their kings was performed, to be conveyed to Westminster, where it is now to be seen in the abbey; but the Scotch records were burnt by Edward's order, as he intended to unite both kingdoms. *Rapin*, vol. I. p. 375.

* His Royal Highness was now well assured, "that when the rebels heard he was got to Linlith-

gow, they held a council, and drew out their men; but as soon as the baggage and the cannon they lately took were moved off, they told the country people that they were going to meet a reinforcement; but as they could not carry away all their plunder, they would give it to them, and that it was in St. Ninian's church, where they had made a magazine of powder and balls; and when the country people came to fetch it away, the rebels attempted to set fire to the magazine, but fortunately the first train missed, so that several escaped: but the second was so soon fired, that many poor people were blown up and buried in the ruins." *London Gazette*, Feb. 6. "About twenty of the sick rebels were taken at Stirling, and captain Fitzgerald of Monro's regiment, and an ensign of Lee's, were retaken." *Ibid.*

† "After the rebels had crossed the Forth, many of the leaders told their men to shift for themselves. They talked publicly of going from Perth to Dundee, and so on to Montrose; and his Royal Highness sent proper orders to rear-admiral Byng to prevent their getting off." *Ibid.*

ray: the second, composed of the lowlanders, proceeded by Cowper of Angus and Brechin, towards Kincardin and the Thite of Nairn, under the direction of the lords Ogilvie and Pitligo: and lord George Murray with another party, and lord John Drummond, with the French piquets, kept nearer the eastern coast, taking the road by Dundee, Aberbrothock, and Montrose to Aberdeen, where the second and third columns were to unite, and then to join the third at Inverness, with an intention to possess themselves of that important post*.

The rebels were sensible how much their retreat had the resemblance of a flight†; they were conscious what an alarm it would occasion among their friends, both at home and abroad; and they urged a variety of motives to justify their conduct. Their chiefs, however, on their departure from Perth, gave their pretended prince a new demonstration of their invariable attachment, by signing an association, whereby they solemnly engaged never to abandon his interest: and, at the same time, the chiefs received the strongest assurances from their leader, that whatever might be the success of the enterprize, he was determined to die sword in hand, rather than desist from what he had undertaken. The rebels persuaded themselves

* All the Irish and Scotch who came from France, went off to Montrose, under the command of the person styling himself lord John Drummond. The Hazard sloop went north about, in order, as was supposed, to carry off the pretender's son, who, according to the best informations, lay on the 6th at Blair of Athol, with a body of the rebels, not amounting, by their own account, to 1500 men, though it was the greatest number they had

any where together." Lond. Gaz. Extr. Feb. 13.

† "This precipitate flight is not to be described: they were all to be at Perth the 2d, where, as their own men declared, they would not stay for his royal highness to come up to them." Lond. Gaz. Extr. Feb. 6.

‡ All these are enumerated in my history of that war, vol. IV. p. 194.

that

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that by removing the war into the highlands, and the report they had spread of the severities that would be inflicted by the DUKE of CUMBERLAND, they must keep their men together, and also make their numbers more formidable. They also thought that this would give a fair opportunity to the French of attempting an invasion in the south; which they flattered themselves would relieve them from all difficulties. Besides, they had formed a project to make themselves masters of the chain or line of fortifications that run along the north of Scotland from fort William to Inverness; and thereby not only secure the country behind them, but afford means for the French and Spaniards to send them reinforcements and supplies, of which they had large promises and slight performances.

The DUKE of CUMBERLAND penetrated all their views, and took the most effectual methods to circumvent them. The arch of Stirling bridge, which had been broke down by general Blakeney's orders, was repaired on the fourth, with timber, mostly provided by the rebels for that purpose, and the same day the army passed over the bridge. The advanced guard, consisting of the Argyleshire highlanders and the dragoons went on to Crief*, twelve miles north of Stirling; and the foot were cantoned at and about Dunblain, where his Royal Highness lay that night; and the next morning arrived at Crief. His Royal Highness arrived at Perth†, with his whole army on the sixth of February, and immediately gave

* A town in the shire of Menteith, 5 miles north of Stirling. Near this place was fought the battle of Sheriff-Moor in 1715, between the duke of Argyle and the earl of Mar. See p. 276.

† The capital of a county of the same name, 30 miles N. of Edinburgh: it is a handsome town, pleasantly seated on the north bank of the river Tay, and navigable for small vessels.

the necessary orders to erect magazines of bread and forage, for the subsistence of the troops; because he intended to continue at Perth until he had collected a sufficient quantity of provisions, and then to march his army by different roads to Aberdeen, where he proposed to fix his head quarters, to establish proper magazines, and receive such supplies as might be requisite, from time to time, by sea from the south*.

His Royal Highness the DUKE of CUMBERLAND received intelligence, on the eighth, that the Hessians were safely arrived in the road of Leith†, under his brother-in-law the prince of Hesse and the earl of Craufurd‡; upon which he set out for Edinburgh, to concert with them the most proper measures for disposing of those forces to the best advantage. His Royal Highness then returned to Perth, where every thing was preparing for the march.

Two detachments of five hundred foot each were sent forward; one to Dunkeld||, under the command of Sir

* The same prudential measures had been taken by king Edward I. who invaded Scotland four times, and penetrated from one end of the kingdom to the other; as also did Oliver Cromwell and general Monk in 1651, who were supplied with provisions from the ships sent thither from England for that purpose. Rapin, vol. I. p. 382, vol. II. p. 583. Critical review of the life of Oliver Cromwell, p. 52.

† "They came from Williamstadt on the 4th, and had a good passage. The troops were to remain on board till the DUKE's pleasure was known: in the mean while preparations were making for the reception of the prince of Hesse, and bread and forage were providing for the troops." Load. Gaz. Extr. Feb. 13.

‡ "The earl of Craufurd acquired such reputation at the battle of Fontenoy, that in May 1745 he was promoted to the rank of major-general; and on the 9th of February 1746, he was ordered from Antwerp into Scotland, to command a body of six thousand Hessians, under the prince of Hesse, where they secured the important posts of Stirling and Perth, and commanded the passage into the Lowlands; while his Royal Highness the DUKE of CUMBERLAND drove the rebels before him to the field of Culloden, where he happily subdued this desperate commotion." Memoirs of the life of the earl of Craufurd, p. 418.

|| The only town in the highlands of Perthshire proper, situated on the river Tay, at the foot of the

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Andrew Agnew, lieutenant-colonel of the Scotch fusiliers, with one hundred and twenty Argyleshire men added thereto; and the other, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Leighton, to Castle-Menzie*. The rest of the army remained at Perth, to refresh the men after the great fatigue they had undergone. Some of the principal inhabitants, as well as the clergy in this part of the country, attended his Royal Highness; and the duke of Athol published a declaration, requiring all his vassals to come to Dunkeld and Kirk Michael, and join the troops, that were to be sent there to disarm and apprehend the rebels, on pain of their being proceeded against with the utmost severity in case of a refusal. General Campbell† also attended his Royal Highness at Perth, and brought with him four companies of western highlanders: he was to be sent to the western highlands, whilst his son ‡ remained with six hundred highlanders to go upon parties§.

As it was necessary to secure the important posts of Stirling and Perth, Sir Andrew Agnew was ordered to take possession of the castle of Blair, a seat belonging to the duke of Athol, twenty four miles north of Perth. Four battalions of Hessians were ordered from Edinburgh to Perth, and two more to Stirling; St. George's dragoons were to be posted at the bridge of Earn in the county of Strathern; and those of Hamilton and Naizon

Grampian mountains, and fourteen miles N. of Perth. Near it is a palace of the duke of Athol.

* A mile on the other side Tay-bridge.

† His grace John the present duke of Argyle, now a lieutenant-general, and colonel of the Scots greys, and one of the sixteen peers of Scotland.

‡ The present marquis of Lorn, now a major-general, and colonel of the 14th regiment of dragoons.

§ "As soon as the troops could lay up their magazines of bread, they were to march northwards by the coast, to be more at hand to send detachments into the hills, as it was impossible for the whole army to go that way." Lond. Gaz.

at Bannockburn: the whole under the command of the prince of Hesse and the earl of Craufurd*: and the DUKE of CUMBERLAND, after concerting these dispositions, marched his army from Perth on the twentieth, continuing his route, by easy marches, to Aberdeen, eighty-four miles north-east of Edinburgh.

In the mean time, the first column of the rebels, with the prisoners taken at Falkirk, pursued it's march northwards by Ruthven into Badenoch, where the young pretender caused the barracks to be blown up, and then proceeded to Inverness, where he expected little opposition from the earl of Loudon, who was posted there with two thousand of the loyal northern clans, and was making the best disposition for the defence of fort George. The two other columns united at Aberdeen, where they received some supplies from France, and a reinforcement of two troops of dismounted horse belonging to the regiment of Fitz-James. But by the vigilance of rear-admiral Byng, who then cruized on the coast, the Bourbon and Charite, two other vessels belonging to the same embarkation were intercepted, in which were taken the count de Fitz-James, major-general commandant; major general Ruth; the brigadiers Tyrconnel, Nugent, and Cook; lieutenant colonel Cople; major Betagh; two captains, six lieutenants, five cornets, thirteen quartermasters, six gunners, and three hundred and sixty men.

The young pretender was joined by some parties from the shire of Aberdeen, when his division was augmented to four thousand men, with which he proceeded to Inverness, and his advanced party, on the sixteenth, arrived within four miles of the town. The earl of Loudon

* Lond. Gazette, March 4.

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found the place was indefensible against such numbers, and crossed the Nefs into the county of Ross, after leaving two independant companies in fort George *, under major Grant, who abandoned the fort, for which he was afterwards dismissed the service.

The young pretender fixed his head-quarters at Inverness †, where he was soon joined by the two other divisions, which were cantoned through the Shire of Murray, as far as the banks of the Spey, a rapid river separating the counties of Bamf and Murray, about thirty two miles south-east of Inverness. The rebels exercised great severities through all that tract of territory, against those whom they believed disaffected to their cause; and issued the strictest orders to prevent the DUKE of CUMBERLAND from receiving any intelligence of their affairs ‡. Their success at Inverness, and the news of surprizing some parties of loyal highlanders in the neighborhood of Blair, raised the spirit of the rebels, notwithstanding the badness of their quarters, want of pay, scarcity of provisions, and other inconveniences. They next sent a detachment to attack fort Augustus, a very small place, and only important by it's situation between Inverness and fort William: it was garrisoned by three companies belonging to the regiment of Guise, under the command of major Wentworth, who made a good defence, but was obliged to surrender the place, which was demolished, as well as Fort George.

While the rebels were thus successful, the DUKE of CUMBERLAND was equally vigilant. The royal army, arrived at Montrose on the 24th, when his Royal High-

* Lond. Gazette, March 11.

† A sea port town, seated at the mouth of the river Nefs, on Murray Frith, 106 miles N. of Edin-

burgh, and 60 N. E. of Inverlochy.

‡ They published an order, declaring it death to any who should convey letters to, or correspond

ness published a proclamation for the rebels to disarm. On the 28th, the army arrived at Aberdeen*, where his Royal Highness was waited on by the duke of Gordon, the earls of Aberdeen and Findlater, the laird of Grant†, and some others of the northern nobility and gentry, with offers of their service. His Royal Highness was very attentive in refreshing and disciplining the troops; in providing magazines for their subsistence, and preparing every thing to take the field, when circumstances should prove favorable for continuing the march of the troops, who were divided into three cantonements. The whole first line, consisting of six battalions, with the dragoons of Cobham, and Kingston's horse, were at Strathbogie‡, in Buchan, twelve miles south east of the Spey, and thirty-two miles north of Aberdeen, under the command of the earl of Albemarle and major-general Bland: the reserve, composed of three battalions, were at Old Meldrum, half way between Strathbogie and Old Aberdeen, under brigadier Mordaunt: and the whole second line, which contained the remaining battalions, with Kerr's dragoons, continued with his Royal Highness at Aberdeen. Detachments were sent on all sides to scour the country from the rebels, who surrounded and cut to pieces, a party of

with the friends of the government.' Lond. Gaz. March 4. In pursuance of this order, a poor man was hanged for carrying a letter to the friends of the government.

* "His royal highness, on the 20th, put the troops into motion in four divisions; each of which were to have two days halt at Montrose in their way to Aberdeen, at which place the whole were to arrive upon the 1st of March." Lond. Gaz. March 1.

† "Lord Aberdeen shewed the greatest zeal for his majesty's service. Lord Findlater, and his son-in-law Mr. Grant, were also at

Aberdeen, the latter of whom offered to bring out 600 of his people armed, which he would do as soon as every thing was ready for the march." Lond. Gaz. March 11.

‡ This was formerly the seat of the earl of Athol, but at present belongs to the duke of Gordon, whose chief residence is at Gordon castle in Banffshire. "His grace arrived at the head quarters from his own house, on foot, in the most secret manner he could; the rebels who had lived upon his estate, having constantly watched him ever since they had been there." Ibid. March 15.

seventy loyal highlanders and thirty of Kingston's horse, whom general Bland had detached from Strathbogie to Keith*. They also landed a strong party in boats on the Sutherland side, where they surprized the advanced guard of lord Loudon's regiment, under major Mackenzie, and took them prisoners †: after which the rebels spread themselves in Sutherland, and obliged the earl of Loudon to pass over to the isle of Skie|| for his greater security. They pretended they would defend the passage of the Spey, and removed all their baggage to the northward of the chain into Caithness; while they gave out that the young pretender would go himself to the isle of Skie to raise men there‡.

Lord George Murray invested the castle of Blair, which Sir Andrew Agnew gallantly defended for seventeen days, until the approach of the earl of Craufurd with a party of dragoons, and the prince of Hesse with all his horse, and one thousand foot, which troops obliged the rebels to raise the siege, and retire to Ruthven. They were equally unsuccessful in besieging fort William, which was invested by brigadier Stapleton, Cameron of Lochiel, and Clanronald, with fifteen hundred of their best men: but captain Scot bravely defended the place for eight days, when he made a brisk fallée, and seized one of the rebel batteries, which obliged them to raise the siege with the loss of many men, and some of the cannon taken at Preston-pans.

During these various transactions, the young pretender remained at Inverness† with the main body of his army,

* Ibid. April 1.

|| Lord Loudon, lord president, and Mr. Mac Cleod, with about 900 men, arrived there the 26th of March, where they were safe from the enemy, as there was no ship of war to guard the coast."

Ibid, April 12.

† Ibid. April 12, in which is "the Journal of what passed at Fort William, from the 14th to the 27th of March."

‡ He was lodged at the lady dowager Mac Intosh's." Ibid.

and little expected an immediate visit from the DUKE of CUMBERLAND; imagining that the royal army could advance no further into the highlands for want of provisions and forage: but in this the rebels were greatly mistaken, for the DUKE of CUMBERLAND was attended by a fleet of transports, who sailed along the coast in sight of the army. The rebels, however, received daily reinforcements from the disaffected clans*, particularly four hundred men under lady Mac Intosh, and some Mackenzies headed by the lady Seaforth; both of whose husbands were with the earl of Loudon†. Their strength was now more considerable than it had been at any time during the commotion, and they were better prepared for an engagement, which they were determined to stand. They would have been more formidable if the Hazard sloop, to which they had given the name of the prince Charles Snow, had made a safe arrival with a considerable quantity of money and arms, and several experienced officers and engineers from France: but this vessel was pursued by the Sheerness man of war, commanded by captain Obrien, who chased her into Tong Bay, on the northern part of Strathnaver‡, and ran her ashore on the shallows in the country where the loyal lord Rae resided. That nobleman sent his son captain George Mackay, with some other officers||, and part of lord Loudon's regiment, which had escaped at Dornoch, to engage those that landed from the Hazard. They made little resistance, and

* The rebels, "published a paper, importing, that they proposed to lie still until spring, and then to assemble a great army of highlanders, and make a fresh irruption." Ibid, March 8.

† Ibid. March 15.

‡ On the 25th of March.

|| Sir Henry Monro, son to the late Sir Robert, lord Charles Gordon, and captain Mac Cleod. Lond. Gaz. April 15.

surrendered, to the number of one hundred and fifty six officers, soldiers, and sailors, with whom the loyal highlanders embarked on board the *Sheerness*, and sailed directly for Aberdeen; when it appeared that colonel Brown was amongst the prisoners, and about forty other experienced officers, who had been long either in the French or Spanish service*.

The DUKE of CUMBERLAND had certain intelligence that the earl of Airly, father to lord Ogilvie, was raising his men to join the rebels; and he not having complied with the order to desist from such treasonable practices, his Royal Highness sent captain Hewet, with one hundred recovered men, who were coming up to the army, to take possession of his house, and make him prisoner in it, until his people should bring in their arms, and behave in such a manner as became good subjects; upon which many brought in their arms. His Royal Highness also ordered major La Fauille, with three hundred men to Glenesk, which was one of the most rebellious parts, to attack all whom he found in arms against the government, and to burn the habitations of such who had left them, and were with the rebels: the major accordingly disarmed the disaffected persons, and returned to Aberdeen with five hundred recovered men. The seizing all the cattle, and demolishing some of the habitations of those in Lochabar, who were out in the rebellion, had likewise a very good effect; for all the rebels of that country deserted to go to their own houses.

The continued bad weather, with many difficulties of contrary winds and other accidents, for almost a month

* Ibid. April 12.

† Lond. Gaz. April 1 — 2.

together, had raised the waters of the Spey so high, that the royal army still remained at Aberdeen, where his Royal Highness spared no pains nor trouble to put every thing in readiness for motion until the fourth of April, when the south wind brought up the firing and provisions for his troops; he hoped the Spey was then rendered fordable, and sent two officers to reconnoitre it. His Royal Highness erected a fort at Aberdeen, in which he intended to leave a proper force, under the command of captain Crosby of the Scotch fusileers, for securing the town from any insults from Glenbucket's people, or any others †.

The royal troops, notwithstanding the severity of the winter, and the fatigues they had endured by making a double campaign, were so well refreshed, and in such excellent order, as to be every where fit for service; and they were also augmented by the arrival of Bligh's regiment* by sea from Edinburgh.

The inclemency of the season was abated; and, on the eighth of April, the DUKE of CUMBERLAND put all the divisions of his army into motion, to advance towards the rebels. His Royal Highness arrived at Bamff† on the tenth, and encamped the next day at Cullen‖, where the earl of Albemarle joined him, and the whole army was assembled, with which his Royal Highness proceeded to Fochabers, a village on the Spey, and arrived there on the twelfth. It was expected the rebels would have disputed the passage of the river, and major-general Huske was detached in the morning with the fif-

† Ibid. April 5 and 12.

* It arrived at Aberdeen on the 25th of March. Ibid. March 26.

† One of the royal burghs at the mouth of the river Doern, on

the German ocean, 32 miles N. W. of Aberdeen, and 110 N. of Edinburgh.

‖ Forty six miles N. W. of Aberdeen.

teen companies of grenadiers, the highlanders, and all the cavalry, and two pieces of cannon, the whole accompanied by his royal highness in person. About three thousand rebels were on the opposite shore ; but retired from thence towards Elgin on the first appearance of the royalists. The duke of Kingston's horse immediately forded over, sustained by the grenadiers and highlanders : the foot waded over as fast as they arrived ; and though the water came up to their middles, they went on with great chearfulness*. The whole army passed the river with no other loss than that of one dragoon, and four women, who were all drowned.

The DUKE of CUMBERLAND continued his march through Elgin† to Forres ; and, on the fifteenth, arrived at Nairn‡, in the county of Inverness, where his Royal Highness made a halt. This was the anniversary of his birth-day, when he entered the twenty-sixth year of his age ; but no acclamations or rejoicings were suffered in the camp, where intelligence was received, that the rebels had collected all their forces together, and were then about nine miles distant, seeming as if determined to wait for the royalists, and stake their all upon an engagement.

This information was true : the young pretender had assembled his army on Straghallan moor, near Culloden house, the seat of Duncan Forbes, esquire, lord president of the session, four miles east of Inverness, where it was intended to oppose the progress of the royal army. The rebels even formed a design of surprizing the royal troops

* Lond. Gaz. April 19.

† The capital of Murray, 5 miles S. of the Murray frish, and 36 E. of Inverness.

‡ A parliament burgh, at the mouth of the water Nairn, 16 miles E. of Inverness.

at night ; but they were disappointed by the vigilance of the DUKE of CUMBERLAND, and the strict discipline he maintained.

The hour was now approaching to determine all the expectations of the rebels, who principally depended on their personal strength and dexterity in managing the broad sword : but the royal forces were properly instructed in a new method of using the bayonet, which rendered the boasted defence of the highland target of little utility*.

The royal army decamped from Nairn, on the sixteenth of April, at five in the morning, in hopes of coming to an engagement. They proceeded in three

* It was perceived, " that the swords of the highlanders were manageable with much greater dexterity and smartness than ours ; the three centres of motion, gravi-

ty and magnitude uniting in them, which the weight of our blades and the lightness of our hilts, separate too much."

" Now hear our English king ;

For thus his royalty doth speak in me :

He is prepar'd ; and reason too he should.

This apish and unmannerly approach,

This harness'd mask, and unadvis'd revel,

This unhair'd fauciness and boyish troops,

The king doth smile at ; and is well prepar'd

To whip this dwarfish war, these pigmy armies,

From out the circle of his territories.

That hand which had the strength, ev'n at your door,

To cudgel you, and make you take the hatch ;

— to thrill and shake,

Ev'n at the crying of our nation's crow,

Thinking his voice an armed English man ;

Shall that victorious hand be feeble here,

That in your chambers gave you chastisement ?

No ; know the gallant monarch is in arms,

And like an eagle o'er his airy tow'rs,

To soufe annoiance that comes near his nest.

And you degen'rate, you ingrate revolts,

You bloody Neros, ripping up the womb

Of your dear mother England, blush for shame.

For your own ladies, and pale visag'd maids,

Like Amazons, come tripping after drums.'

— FAULCONBRIDGE's speech in Shakespeare's king

John, Act V. Theobald's edit. vol. III. p. 410

divisions

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divisions, of five battalions each : the artillery and baggage followed the first column on the right ; and the cavalry made the fourth column on the left. After they had marched about eight miles, the advanced guards composed of a squadron of Kingston's horse, and the highlanders, led on by the quarter-master-general Bland, perceived the rebels, at some distance, making a motion towards them on the left ; upon which the royal army instantly formed : but finding the rebels would not advance, they proceeded half a mile forwards with fixed bayonets. After passing a morass, they came in full view of the rebels, who were drawn up in line of battle, behind some huts and old walls, on the moor, near Cullo-den house*.

The royal army immediately began to form, and were disposed in excellent order. The front line consisted of the six battalions of Sinclair, or the Royals, Cholmondeley, Price, Scots fusileers, Monro, and Barrel, commanded by the lieutenant-general earl of Albemarle ; who had ten pieces of cannon planted in all the intermediate spaces between each of the battalions ; and the flanks were secured by two regiments of dragoons, having Cobham's on the right under major-general Bland, and Kerr's

* Order of March of the King's Army.

Horse-Gen. Bland. Cannon.	Major-gen. Huske.	Brig. Mordaunt.	Lord Sempil.	Horse-Gen. Hawley. Cannon.
	Monro.	Price.	Royal.	
	Barrell.	Scotch Fusileers.	Cholmondeley.	
	Ligonier.	Bligh.	Howard.	
	Wolfe.	Sempil.	Fleming.	
	Blakeney.	Batterau.	Pulteney.	

on

on the left under the earl of Ancram*. The second line was composed of the five battalions of Fleming, Bligh, Sempill, Ligonier, and Wolfe, led by major-general Huske; so disposed as to front the openings of the first line, with three pieces of cannon between the exterior battalions of each wing and those next them. The reserve consisted of the four battalions of Howard, Pulteney, Battereau, and Blakeney, conducted by brigadier general Mordaunt, having Kingston's horse equally disposed on either flank. The Argyleshire highlanders were posted to guard the baggage. This was one of the most prudent dispositions the mind of man was capable of contriving; because if one column failed, a second supported; and if that failed, a third was ready. The rebels could no way take two pieces of cannon, but three must play directly upon them; nor break one regiment, but two were ready to supply the placet,

* The eldest son of the most honorable William Henry Kerr, marquis of Lothian.

† A return of the officers and men in each battalion, the day of the battle of Culloden.

	F. Of.	Cap.	Sub.	Serj.	Drum.	R. & F.
Royal Scots	2	5	19	29	25	401
Lieutenant Gen. Howard	2	4	10	21	14	413
Lieutenant Gen. Barrell	2	5	13	18	10	323
Major Gen. Wolfe	1	7	14	17	11	324
Major Gen. Pulteney	2	6	14	23	19	310
Brigadier Gen. Price	2	7	14	21	11	304
Brigadier Gen. Bligh	2	5	13	22	13	412
Major Gen. Campbell	1	5	13	21	14	358
Brigadier Gen. Sempil	3	5	15	20	14	358
Major Gen. Blakeney	2	4	14	24	12	300
Brigadier Gen. Cholmondeley	2	7	15	21	15	399
Brigadier Gen. Fleming	2	6	18	25	14	350
Col. Battereau	1	7	19	24	18	354
Col. Dejean	2	6	15	23	19	426
Col. Conway	3	5	16	21	16	325

Total 29 84 202 330 525 5521

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The front of the rebel army was formed by the clans in thirteen divisions, under their respective chiefs. Upon the right of all were about forty of the principal gentlemen, who dismounted because of the difference between their horse and the dragoons. The Athol men, being five hundred; were close to them, and the next were the Mac Laughlans, one hundred and fifty; the Camerons of Lochiel, six hundred; the Steuarts of Appin, two hundred; the Steuarts of Gardentilly, three hundred; the Frasers of Loyat, five hundred; the Mac Intoshes, four hundred; the Chisholms, one hundred and fifty; the Farquharsons, three hundred; the Gordons of Glenbucket, three hundred; the Mac Innons, three hundred; the Mac Cleods of Razza, three hundred; the Mac Cleans, one hundred; the Mac Donalds of Clanronald, two hundred and fifty; the Mac Donalds of Keppoch, three hundred; the Mac Donalds of Glengary, four hundred; in all four thousand nine hundred and ninety; having four pieces of cannon planted before the Farquharsons and Mac Innons in the centre, which was commanded by lord John Drummond; the right wing by lord George Murray; and the left by the titular duke of Perth. On the right of the second line, were posted two battalions of the regiment under lord Lewis Gordon, consisting of five hundred men; and next to them were two battalions, consisting of five hundred men, under lord Ogilvie. These were adjoined to the regiment commanded by lord John Drummond, headed by his cousin lord Lewis Drummond, the lieutenant-colonel of the regiment, and son to the earl of Melfort, consisting of five hundred men. The remainder on the left were headed by the earl of Kilmarnock and colonel Creighton*, being two thousand in all. The three last divisions

* He was called viscount Fraendraght,

properly

properly formed the second line ; because the first division was posted in Culloden park, to prevent the royal force from breaking down the wall, and flanking the rebels. Behind the second line were posted all the rebel horse, including the body-guards, Pittligo's squadron, and that lately commanded by the earl of Kilmarnock, but now by the viscount Strathallan, all of them making a body of no more than one hundred and fifty men : but the whole force of the rebels, by this account, amounted to seven thousand one hundred and forty men. Such was the actual situation of the rebels on the day of battle ; though another plan, of a very difficult nature, has been frequently taken for the real disposition of those forces ; but that was the order in which the rebels were drawn up the day before the battle, when they expected the DUKE of CUMBERLAND would march and attack them.

When the royal army was advanced within five hundred yards of the rebels, the DUKE of CUMBERLAND found the morass upon his right was ended, which left the right flank uncovered to the rebels ; because lieutenant general Hawley and major-general Bland had before taken Cobham's dragoons, from the right to Kerr's on the left, on a presumption that the right wing was entirely secure, and with an intention to fall upon the right flank of the rebels. This occasioned his Royal Highness immediately to order Kingston's horse from the reserve, and a squadron of Cobham's, which had been patrolling, to cover that flank ; while the regiment of Pulteney was ordered from the reserve to the right of the Royals. When this alteration was made in the disposition of the royal army, it was almost one o'clock ; and about half an hour after was spent in trying which of the two armies should gain the flank of the other.

The

The DUKE of CUMBERLAND having sent lord Bury forward, within one hundred yards of the rebels, to reconnoitre somewhat that appeared like a battery; the rebels thereupon immediately began firing their cannon, "which was extremely ill served and ill pointed*," and did little execution. The firing was instantly returned by the royal army, and the grape-shot made such terrible havoc among the rebels, that open lanes appeared through most of their ranks; which began their confusion. They dreaded every disposition of the artillery, and therefore made a push on the right of the royal army, where the DUKE of CUMBERLAND personally waited to receive them at the head of Cholmondeley's regiment. The left wing of the rebels came running down, in their wild and desperate manner, "three several times within one hundred yards of the right wing of the royal army, firing their pistols and brandishing their swords: but the royals and Pulteney's hardly took their firelocks from their shoulders; so that after these faint attempts they made off," and bent their whole force on the left of the royal army, where their right somewhat outflanked Barrel's regiment, and where they discharged all their fury. This was perceived by major-general Huske, who immediately ordered the regiments of Bligh and Sempil to advance from the second line, and fire upon those who outflanked Barrel's, which soon repulsed them; while the regiments of Barrel and Monroe were briskly engaged with their bayonets in the front, where they did incredible slaughter; each man, according to instruction, directing his bayonet to his right hand man of the rebels, instead of

* *Lon'on Gazette*, April 26, 1746.

† *Ibid.*

pushing

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pushing to the man directly opposite*. The rebels so obstinately rushed on their deaths, that "there was scarce a soldier or officer of Barrel's, and of that part of Monro's which engaged, who did not kill one or two men each, with their bayonets and pontons†".

The DUKE of CUMBERLAND, at the same time, ordered his cannon to keep a continual fire with cartridge shot. The rebels were intimidated at this scene of destruction; yet their commanders kept forcing them down until the regiments of Barrel and Monro were obliged to make an opening to let them pass, and then, closing their lines, some battalions of the rebels were miserably put to death between the front and second lines of the royal army. To complete the total destruction of the rebels, lieutenant-general Hawley with the dragoons, and some loyal highlanders, advanced about on the left, and broke down the park-wall which flanked the rebels right wing, where they defeated that detachment. The dragoons then came down on the rear of the centre column of the second line of the rebels, where they made a prodigious slaughter; while Kingston's horse then wheeled off from the right of the royal army, pierced through the left wing of the rebels front line, and penetrated to the centre column of their second line, where they attacked that column in front; while the dragoons were attacking the rear. This occasioned a dreadful carnage: the royal cavalry soon dispersed the rebel reserve; and the clans were entirely surrounded; the royal infantry was

* This was a method meritorious of being registered among the brightest military inventions; for the rebels, whose ideas extended no farther than to become offensive, never thought of the defensive: they

never considered, while they lifted up their broad-swords with their right arms, how open they exposed their sides to receive the mortal stroke from the bayonets.

† Ibid.

close

close on their front; the cavalry advanced on their rear and thus, hemmed in, they perished in heaps, unassisted by the French, who never fired a shot.

It was now two o'clock: the rebels had maintained the engagement for twenty-five minutes, had fought desperately, and were obliged to disperse in a general confusion. Precipitate was the flight, close the pursuit, and terrible the slaughter. The earl of Ancram was ordered to pursue as far as he could with the cavalry, who did it so effectually, that both the field of battle and the road to Inverness, were covered with mangled dead bodies; and the slaughter was so undistinguished, that many of the inhabitants of Inverness, who came out of curiosity to see the battle, being in the highland-dress, were indiscriminately put to the sword among the rebel fugitives.

The rebels had about one thousand men killed and wounded, upon the field of battle, and in the pursuit: three hundred and twenty six were taken prisoners, besides two hundred and twenty two French, who surrendered to major-general Bland at Inverness. Lord Strathallan fell among the slain, with the chief of the Mac Laughlans, Mac Donald of Keppoch, colonel Mac Gillewary who headed the Mac Intoshes, the lieutenant-colonel of the Frasers, and about fifty other officers. The earl of Kilmarnock, colonel Farquharson, colonel Ker, Sir John Wedderburn, major Steuart, major Mac Laughlan, and many other officers were immediately taken. The rebels had twenty-two pieces of cannon, eight swivels, and two thousand three hundred and twenty fivelocks taken, besides all their colors and ammunition. The royal army had sixty men killed, and two hundred

hundred and eighty wounded: among the former was lord Robert Kerr; and among the latter was lieutenant-colonel Rich; but no other person of distinction was either among the dead or wounded. Barrel's regiment had seventeen men killed, and one hundred and eight wounded; Monro's had fourteen killed, and sixty eight wounded: so that the loss principally fell upon those two regiments.

When the battle was over, the DUKE of CUMBERLAND retired for refreshment to a place near the field and soon after he took a serious walk among the multitude of slain. He was followed by some of his attendants, who observed him in deep meditation. His royal Highness laid his hand upon his breast, lifted his eyes up to heaven, and was heard to say, "Lord! what am I! that I should be spared, when so many brave men lie dead upon the spot!" When the army was formed to attack the enemy, his Royal Highness rode along the lines, and addressed every battalion thus, "Depend, said he, my lads, on your bayonets; let them mingle with you; let them know the men they have to encounter." And the instructions given to the soldiers to direct their bayonets, each to his right hand man of the enemy, will be always entered in the books of discipline as proper against sword and target.

It is necessary to take notice of two parallel circumstances at the battle of Agincourt and that of Culloden. One is the insolence of the French king in his message by his herald to king Henry V, before the battle, demanding what ransom the English monarch would give, upon an insolent presumption of victory: but the order given by the secretary of the young pretender, to his

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army,

army, that every person should remain with his respective corps night and day, until the battle and pursuit were finally over, and to give no quarter to the elector's troops, had more arrogance in it than the French king's message to Henry V. The circumstances of the number of slain on both sides at Agincourt and Culloden, have some resemblance to each other : and it would be unjust to the military virtues of the DUKE of CUMBERLAND, if the approaches which he made towards the character of his illustrious predecessor were passed unnoticed. Henry V. was easy of access, void of pride and ostentation, friendly and familiar to his soldiers ; patient of enduring hardships ; active, valiant, and vigilant : of all which great and good qualities, the DUKE of CUMBERLAND gave early and conspicuous proofs.

Immediately after the battle, the rebels retreated in the utmost confusion : but, the next day, about two thousand of the highlanders assembled at Fort Augustus, and the lowlanders at Ruthven in Badenoch, where they continued till they had orders to disperse, and every man to shift for himself.

Among the French who surrendered at Inverness, were lord Lewis Drummond, brigadier Stapleton, colonel Mac Donell, the marquis de Guilles, and thirty-nine other officers belonging to the Irish brigades. These gentlemen sent the following authenticated letter and parole of honor upon this occasion :

A Translation

Translation of a letter from the officers in the service of his most Christian majesty, who were at Inverness the day of the battle of Culloden, to major-general Bland.

THE French officers and soldiers, who are at Inverness, surrender themselves prisoner to his Royal Highness the DUKE of CUMBERLAND, and hope for every thing which is to be expected from the English generosity."

" Translation of the parole of honor, signed by the officers in the service of his most Christian majesty."

Inverness, April 17, 1746.

WE the underwritten, in the service of his most Christian majesty, acknowledge ourselves prisoners of war of his Britannic majesty; and we engage ourselves upon our parole of honor, not to go out of the town of Inverness, without a permission from his Royal Highness the DUKE of CUMBERLAND."

While the rebels were dispersing, the royal army proceeded to Inverness, where the DUKE of CUMBERLAND established his head-quarters, and issued the following proclamation:

" WILLIAM AUGUSTUS,
DUKE of CUMBERLAND, and duke of Brunswic-Lunen-
burg, captain-general of all his majesty's land
forces in the kingdom of Great Britain, &c. &c. &c.

IT having been represented to me, that numbers of the rebels, after the overthrow they met with in the late

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battle of Culloden, have dispersed themselves over the country, and retired to their respective homes, or to the near neighborhood of their respective habitations, where they presumptuously and insolently remain in possession of those arms with which they attempted the overthrow of the government, without having given the least marks of quitting the traiterous disposition by which they have hitherto been guided.

“ I have therefore thought fit, in virtue of a plenary power and authority, granted to me by his majesty, to publish these presents, strictly requiring in his majesty's name, all sheriffs, stewards, and their deputies, magistrates of boroughs, justices of the peace, and other officers of the law, to make diligent search for all persons of what rank soever, who have been at any time in arms against his majesty, in the course of this wicked and unnatural rebellion, and who have not delivered up their arms, and submitted to his majesty's mercy, in terms of the proclamation, dated at Montrose the twenty fourth of February ; and, when found, to seize and commit them, in order to trial ; and to seize and secure all sorts of arms that may be found in their possession, or any way belonging to them, or that have belonged to them. And in order to the more effectual execution of this service, the officers of the law abovementioned are to take informations from the ministers of the established church of Scotland, touching the behavior of the inhabitants within their respective parishes, and of the present haunts and places of abode of such rebels as may be lurking in their several neighborhoods ; and the said ministers of the gospel, and all others his majesty's dutiful subjects, who shall have any knowledge of the places of abode, or lurking
ing

ing places of such rebels, and of the places where such arms may be lodged, are hereby required to give information to the officers of the law aforesaid. And to prevent the obstruction of the execution of this order, it is hereby further ordred, that all officers of the law, who shall receive information, and issue warrants as aforesaid, and who may apprehend resistance, do apply to the officers of his majesty's forces, that shall be next to the place where the search is to be made; and all officers of his majesty's forces to whom such application shall be made, are strictly required and commanded to give the necessary assistance for the execution of such warrants, as they shall answer the contrary at their highest peril.

“ And whereas several evil disposed persons may have harbored, concealed, or entertained rebels, who have been in arms against his majesty; all the officers and magistrates of the law abovementioned, are hereby required to make a strict enquiry after all such persons as may have, since the battle of Culloden, harbored, concealed, or entertained any rebels who have been in arms against his majesty, knowing them to be such; and with the assistance aforesaid, to seize and commit them to prison in order to trial.

W I L L I A M.

Given at the head-quarters at Inverness, the first day of May, 1746.

By his Royal Highness's Command,

EVERARD FAWKENER.”

In consequence of this proclamation, several detachments were sent into the disaffected parts of the country, to destroy the habitations of the rebels, and plunder their

estates. A great number of the fugitives were killed or taken ; but most of the principal officers found means to accomplish their escape on board two French men of war, who came for that purpose to the coast of Arisaig : among them were the titular duke of Perth, who died in the voyage ; Sir Thomas Sheridan ; and colonel Sullivan.

About the same time that the whole force of the rebels were vanquished at Culloden, the earl of Cromartie, and his eldest son lord Macleod, with lieutenant-colonel Kendal, in the Spanish service, captain Mac Kenzie, brother of Ballon, captain Roderic Mac Culloch, of Glassich, with seven other officers and one hundred and fifty two private men, were taken at Dunrobin castle in Sutherland, by the militia of that county, and were conducted on board the hound sloop of war to Inverness. The marquis of Tullibardine, lord Balmerino, and secretary Murray, soon after surrendered themselves in different parts of the country. The earl of Kelly delivered himself up in obedience to the act of attainder ; and the earl of Traquair was also imprisoned.

Lord Lovat and his son were also taken prisoners, with sixty of their clan, and brought prisoners to Fort William, from whence his lordship wrote a letter to the DUKE of CUMBERLAND, dated the twelfth of June, in the following terms :

“ S I R,

THIS letter is most humbly addressed to your Royal Highness, by the very unfortunate Simon lord Frazer of Lovat. I durst not presume to solicit or petition your Royal Highness for any favor, if it was not very well

well known to the best people in this country, attached to the government, such as the lord president, and by those that frequented the court at that time, that I did more essential service to your royal family in the great rebellion in the year 1715, with the hazard of my life, and the loss of my only brother, than any of my rank in Scotland; for which I had three letters of thanks from my royal master, by the hands of earl Stanhope, then secretary of state; in which his majesty strongly promised to give me such marks of his favor, as should oblige all the country to be faithful to him: therefore, the gracious king was as good as his word to me; for as soon as I arrived at Court, and was introduced to the king by the late duke of Argyle, I became, by degrees, to be as great a favorite as any Scotchman about the court; and I often carried your Royal Highness in my arms in the parks of Kensington and Hampton Court, to hold you up to your royal grandfather, that he might embrace you, for he was very fond of you and the young princesses. Now, Sir, all that I have to say in my present circumstances, is, that your Royal Highness will be pleased to extend your goodness towards me, in a generous and compassionate manner, in my deplorable situation; and, if I have the honor to kiss your royal highness's hand, I would easily demonstrate to you, that I can do more service to the king and government, than the destroying an hundred such old and very infirm men like me, passed seventy (without the least use of my hands, legs or knees) can be of advantage in any shape to the government. Your royal father, our present sovereign, was very kind to me in 1715. I presented on my knees to his majesty

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a petition in favor of the laird of Mac Intosh, to obtain a protection for him, which he granted me. This was but one testimony of several marks of goodness his majesty was pleased to bestow on me, while the king was at Hanover; so I hope I shall feel that the same compagne blood runs in your royal highness's veins*."

The marquis of Tullibardine, the earl of Kilmarnock, the earl of Cromartie, lord Lovat, and lord Bamerino, were sent to London and confined in the Tower. Several of the rebel officers were also sent to London, and distributed in different goals; some were confined at Carlisle, and others at York.

The young pretender, in the mean time, sustained an innumerable variety of hardships, before he could accomplish his escape: but he continually eluded the most vigilant search of the royal forces, until the third of September, when a privateer from St. Malo arrived at Lochanach, and delivered him from his melancholy situation, by carrying him to Morlaix in France, with Cameron of Lochiel, Mac Donald of Barrisdale, Stewart of Ardsfield, and some other of his faithful adherents, who had long wandered with or followed him from shore to shore, and from island to island, surrounded with imminent dangers, encountering with incredible difficulties and partaking of all his calamities.

The rebellion being thus happily extinguished, tranquillity was again restored to the loyal part of the nation, ushered in by the loudest acclamations of a grateful people to the royal commander, who had thus crushed the dangerous hydra that threatened destruction to the whole community.

* It was signed, Lovat,

His

His Royal Highness, immediately after his arrival at Inverness, on the 16th in the evening, dispatched the right honorable the lord Bury with a letter to his majesty, giving an account that he had that day obtained a complete victory over the rebels near Culloden-house. Lord Bury came by sea from Inverness to North Berwick, where he landed, and arrived at St. James's on the twenty-fourth in the morning. At noon the Park and Tower guns were discharged, and the most extraordinary illuminations ever known were made at night throughout all parts of the metropolis, which were continued on the twenty-sixth; when a courier arrived from his Royal Highness with the particulars of his victory, which he modestly called an action. This account was published the next morning in the Gazette, whereby the joyful news was soon transmitted to all parts of his majesty's dominions, and the most unexampled rejoicings were made upon the happy occasion; while congratulatory addresses were presented to his majesty from all parts.

On the twenty-eighth, the congratulatory address to his majesty was voted in the house of lords, moved for by the duke of Marlborough; and the thanks of that house to his Royal Highness the DUKE of CUMBERLAND, moved for by the earl of Sandwich. The like address and thanks were voted in the house of commons; the former moved by lord Coke and seconded by Mr. Grenville; and the latter by Sir Henry Liddel, seconded by Mr. Ellis.

The lords in their address declared, " That they begged leave with hearts full of the most unfeigned joy to congratulate his majesty on the happy success with which it had pleased almighty God to bless his arms against the
rebels

rebels. That when they considered the value and extent of that happiness, which this execrable rebellion was formed to take from them, their holy religion, their laws and liberties, and the great support of them all, his majesty's mild and gracious government, and the protestant succession in his royal house; when on the other hand, they considered the insupportable miseries designed by the wicked authors of that detestable scheme to be brought upon the nation, their thankfulness to heaven, and the transports they felt in their breasts upon this occasion, were raised beyond the power of words to express. That the just and wise use which his majesty had made of those necessary measures, that were taken to strengthen his hands in that conjuncture, for the defence of his crown and the protection of his people, demanded all the returns of gratitude, zeal, and affection, which the most faithful subjects could pay to the best of kings; and the unprovoked treason and perfidy with which this rebellion had been begun, and obstinately carried on, as well as the many calamities the nation had suffered from it, called for exemplary justice against those disturbers of the peace. That it was with the greatest pleasure and admiration, they beheld in how eminent a manner that signal victory had been owing to the valor and conduct of his Royal Highness the DUKE: if any thing could add to their joy on such an event, it was to see a prince of his majesty's blood, formed by his example and imitating his virtues, the glorious instrument of it. And happy should they be in any opportunity of testifying the high sense they had of such illustrious merit. That the bravery, fidelity, and firmness, by which the officers and soldiers of his majesty's army had distinguished themselves on this occasion, gave them

them the utmost satisfaction ; and would, they doubted not, convince their enemies, how much they had to fear from such troops led on by such a commander." And they concluded as follows : " may the divine providence continue to preserve your majesty's precious life, and to prosper your councils and arms with success ; and permit us, in the most solemn manner, to renew the strongest assurances to your majesty of our most zealous and vigorous support and assistance entirely to extinguish this rebellion, absolutely to crush this last desperate effort of a popish abjured pretender, and to improve the consequences of it to add stability to your throne."

His majesty's most gracious answer was in the following terms :

" My lords,

THE success of my arms against the rebels is the more agreeable to me, as it gives such universal satisfaction to all my loving subjects. Your joy on this occasion is a fresh mark of your zeal and affection for me and my family ; and the approbation you express of the services of my son the DUKE, gives me great pleasure. You may depend on my utmost care to improve this success, to re-establish the tranquillity and security of my kingdoms."

The house of commons, in their humble address to the king, also " begged leave to congratulate his majesty on the great and important success, with which it had pleased almighty God to bless his majesty's arms, under the command of his Royal Highness the DUKE, against the rebels. That it was with hearts full of duty and gratitude, they acknowledged his majesty's wisdom and paternal

ternal attention to the interest and welfare of his people, so strongly expressed by his majesty in the choice of that general, whose birth and tried abilities marked him out to defend the liberties and constitution of Great Britain, and so sensibly felt by his people in the happy consequences of that choice. That as they thought the defeat given to the rebels, an event, which must immediately produce the most terrible effects upon the whole state of national affairs, at home and abroad ; so they doubted not, but in its remoter consequences, it would tend to the future peace and tranquillity of his majesty's reign, to the firm establishment of his majesty and his royal posterity, upon the throne of these kingdoms, and to the effectual security of the religion, laws, and liberties of Great Britain. That thus, by a fate, not uncommon to the devices of rebels and traitors, those wicked attempts that had been levelled against the protestant succession, and the happy constitution of this country, under the blessing of providence, proved, in the result, the most effectual means of confirming both. And they assured his majesty, that his faithful commons, truly sensible of the great benefits the nation had received from the eminent courage and conduct of his Royal Highness the DUKE, upon this occasion, were desirous and would be ready to give his Royal Highness such distinguishing marks of public gratitude, as should be most agreeable to his majesty, and were justly due to the superior merit of his Royal Highness."

To this address his majesty answered as follows :

" Gentlemen,

I Return you my hearty thanks for this address, so full of affection to me and my family. The satisfaction
I feel

I feel at the success of my arms against the rebels, is greatly increased by your kind expressions towards my son the DUKE, and your approbation of his services upon this occasion. I will not fail to improve this advantage to the utmost of my power, towards establishing, upon a lasting foundation, the future security and happiness of my people."

The humble address of the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common council assembled, presented on the third of May, and was as follows :

" Most gracious sovereign,

WE your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common council assembled, beg leave to approach your sacred person with the most sincere and hearty congratulations upon the late glorious success of your majesty's arms ; which, under the command of his Royal Highness the DUKE, has defeated the rebellious attempts of your deluded subjects, assisted by the most inveterate enemies to the British constitution. Permit us, Sir, to return our most unfeigned thanks to your majesty, for the appointment of his Royal Highness the DUKE to this important service ; whose conduct and bravery, so early conspicuous, have, by the blessing of the Almighty, produced this our happy deliverance ; a glory reserved for one of your illustrious family, endowed with those princely qualities, which render him amiable to those under his command, and formidable to his enemies.

As

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As disgrace and ruin has * fallen on the heads of those wicked persons who have been confederates in this abhorred and detested rebellion for the subversion of our happy constitution, and depriving us of all that is dear and valuable to us; so we trust, that by divine providence from their disappointment and destruction, stability will redound to your majesty's throne, unity of affection to your royal person and family, and glory to your government over a free and happy people. May a series of success attend your majesty's arms, until tranquillity be restored to Europe, and your subjects firmly established in the possession of their just rights of trade and navigation. Give us leave to add, that it shall be always our firm resolution, as it is our indispensable duty, to oppose every attempt of the common disturbers of the peace of Europe. against the rights of your crown, and that happiness which we hope this nation will ever enjoy under a succession of protestant princes of your majesty's royal house."

To this address his majesty was pleased to return the following most gracious answer:

I Thank you for this affectionate address. The satisfaction you shew in the success of my arms, against the enemies of our happy constitution, and in the conduct of my son the DUKE, is a fresh and most agreeable mark of your duty to me, and zeal for my government."

The chancellor, masters, and scholars of the university of Cambridge, in their address, declared themselves,

* The word of the address: a small, but an unpardonable inaccuracy!

† Charles Seymour, duke of Somerset.

“ deeply

"deeply sensible of the great importance of the signal victory lately obtained by his majesty's arms, under the command of his Royal Highness the DUKE of CUMBERLAND over the rebels; and begged leave to offer their most hearty and unfeigned congratulations to his majesty on that happy event. That as the apprehension of what must have been the consequences, had they succeeded in their wicked and traitorous attempts, was beyond measure alarming, so the effectual stop that had been put to them excited equal sentiments of joy in the hearts of all his majesty's faithful subjects; and this joy was the more affecting, when they saw this great work accomplished by a prince, whose actions bespoke his illustrious descent, and whose admirable conduct and heroic bravery, at the same time that they gained immortal honor to himself, had in one glorious day, under God, secured to his majesty's people the most valuable of all blessings, the full enjoyment of their religion, liberties and laws. That every return, therefore, of duty and gratitude that could be paid, were due to his majesty, whose care for, and love of his people, determined him to employ one so near and dear to him on that important occasion."

This address was followed by another from the chancellor*, master, and scholars of the university of Oxford, who "begged leave to approach the royal presence, with hearts full of the sincerest joy, to congratulate his majesty on the signal victory obtained over the rebels, through

* Charles Butler, lord Butler of Weston in England, and earl of Arran in Ireland. He was brother to James duke of Ormond, who refused to take any part in this rebellion, and died this year in France,

from whence his corps was brought to England, and after lying in state in the Jerusalem chamber, Westminster-abbey, was interred with great solemnity in the Ormond-vault on the 22d of May,

the blessing of God, by his majesty's forces under the command of his Royal Highness the DUKE ; no part of his majesty's subjects being more deeply sensible of the extreme misery to which those kingdoms must have been reduced, had this most wicked rebellion, in favor of a popish pretender, been finally successful. And they declared, that the invincible courage and admirable conduct of the chief instrument, under the divine providence, of that glorious event, were every way worthy the son of that truly great and magnanimous prince, whose illustrious house was never without heroes ready in person to assert it's own just rights, the cause of liberty and true religion : what an unspeakable happiness was it for the nation, that the prospect of their continuance was perpetually enlarging !"

An address was also presented from the archbishop, bishops, and clergy of the province of Canterbury, in convocation assembled, wherein they declared to his majesty, That " his faithful clergy, always the devoted objects of popish malice and cruelty, humbly desired to present, from grateful hearts, their dutiful acknowledgements to his most gracious majesty, their chief human defence, as for his constant protection and favor, so for his wise and seasonable care of the public safety, in committing the conduct of his armies to that illustrious prince, who, through the blessing of heaven on his heroic virtues, early copied from his royal example, had been the glorious instrument of that great and ever memorable deliverance."

The protestant dissenting ministers in and about the cities of London and Westminster, likewise presented an address to his majesty, wherein they " offered their sincere

cerest and warmest congratulations for the happy suppression of that impious and unnatural rebellion, which had been excited and carried on by ungrateful and perjured men, in favor of an outlawed, abjured and popish pretender. And they declared, that the choice of his Royal Highness the DUKE of CUMBERLAND, to be at the head of his majesty's forces on that important occasion, was the noblest demonstration of his majesty's high regard for the national welfare, and that in his royal breast the private affection of a father was taught to give way to the public good; and would transmit the remembrance of his majesty to all future ages, under the most honorable character that a king could bear, the friend, the father of his people. And how distinguished was his majesty's happiness, that the freeing these kingdoms from outrage, sedition, and rebellion, was by providence reserved for that illustrious royal youth, early treading the paths of glory, and formed under his majesty's great example, to be a scourge to his enemies, and a general blessing to his kingdom."

An address of the people called quakers, from their general assembly in London, was also presented to the king, in which they said, " We beheld with grief and detestation an ungrateful and deluded people combined against their own happiness, and desperately engaged in open rebellion against thy person and government, wickedly attempting to subject a free people to the miseries of a popish and arbitrary power. As none among all thy protestant subjects exceed us in an aversion to the tyranny, idolatry, and superstition of the church of Rome; so none lie under more just apprehensions of immediate danger from their destructive consequences, or have greater

cause to be thankful to the Almighty, for the interposition of his providence in our preservation. A preservation so remarkable, makes it our indispensible duty also to acknowledge the king's paternal care, for the safety of his people, of which he hath given the most assured pledge, in permitting one of his royal offspring to expose himself to the greatest dangers for their security."

Other addresses came from different parts of his majesty's dominions, where the greatest festivities were made upon this happy occasion, and in honor of the DUKE of CUMBERLAND, whose name was almost idolized among all ranks and degrees of men; while the greatest honors and rewards were publicly conferred on him by parliament.

On the twenty ninth of April, the thanks of the house of peers were voted to his Royal Highness in the following terms: "RESOLVED, that the thanks of this house be given to his Royal Highness the DUKE of CUMBERLAND, for the great and eminent services performed by him to his majesty and his kingdoms against the rebels; and that his Royal Highness be assured of the just sense which this house has, in how distinguished a manner the late victory was owing to his valor and conduct, and to his indefatigable zeal, activity, and labors in the cause of his royal father, and of his country; and of our ardent wishes that his Royal Highness may have the glory entirely to complete the great work which he has so successfully begun and carried on.—ORDERED, That the lord chancellor transmit the same to his Royal Highness."

The house of commons also "RESOLVED, nemine contradicente, That the thanks of this house be given to his Royal Highness the DUKE, for the eminent and very important services performed by him to his majesty and
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the kingdom, against the rebels, particularly in the late great defeat of them in Scotland, by his majesty's forces, under his Royal Highness's command.— *Ordered*, that the said thanks be transmitted to his Royal Highness, by Mr. Speaker."

The resolutions of both houses were accordingly transmitted to the DUKE, who sent the following letter to the lord chancellor, and the speaker of the house of commons, dated from Inverness, May 7, 1746.

" My lord chancellor,

I Could not possibly have received a more welcome and affecting proof of that distinguished zeal and loyalty which the house of lords have constantly shewn to his majesty's person and government, than by their favorable acceptance of my endeavors for the public service; and I desire you will lay before the house my sincere acknowledgements for the regard they have shewn me on this occasion. The resolution and firmness expressed by every officer and soldier in his majesty's army under my command, deserve the highest commendations: but the guilt and terror of that unhappy, insatuated multitude, who vainly hoped, by unprovoked tumultuary arms, and a contemptible foreign assistance, to shake an establishment founded in the hearts of his majesty's subjects, afforded us so easy a victory, that I can only express my gratitude for the favorable impressions with which the news of it was received by the house of lords, whose good opinion and thanks I shall ever esteem as one of the most honorable testimonies and rewards that any action of mine could receive. I have only to add my thanks to yourself, for the obliging manner in which you have executed the

commands of the house of lords, and for the good wishes with which you have accompanied them, of the reality of which I am firmly persuaded.

My lord chancellor,
your most affectionate friend,

WILLIAM."

The DUKE's letter to the speaker of the house of commons was of the same date, and in the following words :

" Mr. Speaker,

I Desire you would acquaint the house of commons, with the just sense I have of the regard they have been pleased to shew me upon this occasion ; and to assure them, that nothing can be more agreeable to me than their congratulation upon the success of his majesty's arms, which is so authentic a testimonial of their steady zeal and loyalty for his majesty's person and government. Their esteem and approbation of my endeavors in the public service, fill my wishes ; and it will always be my study to deserve the continuance of their good opinion. I cannot enough extol my own good fortune, in being placed by his majesty at the head of an army, which expressed all along the best affections and the greatest ardor, and crowned all by the resolutions shewn by every officer and soldier in the day of action, to which, under God, our success was owing. I return you my thanks for the cordiality and affection with which you have executed the commands of the house of commons.

Mr. Speaker,
Your most affectionate friend,

WILLIAM."

In

In consequence of the address of the house of commons to the king of the twenty eighth of April, his majesty, on the thirteenth of May, sent the following message to the house :

“ G E O R G E R.

THE desire which his majesty's faithful commons have expressed, to shew some public mark of their approbation of the services performed by his dearly beloved son the DUKE of CUMBERLAND, towards suppressing the rebellion, and preserving our happy constitution in church and state, has given his majesty the greatest satisfaction. His majesty is therefore persuaded, that upon this occasion he complies with the inclination of this house, in recommending to their consideration the settling an additional revenue upon his said son, and his issue male, with such provisions as should be judged proper.”

The DUKE of CUMBERLAND until this time had only fifteen thousand pounds a year, payable out of the civil list : the house of commons, therefore, on the fourteenth, unanimously voted, “ That an additional revenue of twenty five thousand pounds a year, be settled on his Royal Highness WILLIAM DUKE of CUMBERLAND, and on the heirs male of his body, for the signal services done by his Royal Highness to his country, to be issuing and payable out of the duties and revenues composing the aggregate funds.”

Accordingly, on the fourth of June, his majesty gave the royal assent, among other bills, to “ An act for settling twenty five thousand pounds per annum upon his Royal Highness WILLIAM DUKE of CUMBERLAND,

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and the heirs male of his body, for the signal services done by his Royal Highness to his country."

The preamble to this act was as follows :

" May it please your most excellent majesty,

WHEREAS by the glorious success with which it has pleased Almighty God to bless your majesty's arms, under the auspicious conduct of your dearly beloved son the DUKE of CUMBERLAND, we may reasonably hope for a happy and speedy end of the present wicked and unnatural rebellion : In return, therefore, for your majesty's unwearied care, and affectionate concern for the safety of your people, of which the exposing a life so justly valuable to your majesty is a most endearing proof ; we beg leave to offer your majesty the warmest assurances of that duty and loyalty which must ever flow from hearts full of gratitude and affection ; and that we may in some measure express the deep sense we have of the indefatigable labor his Royal Highness the DUKE of CUMBERLAND has undergone, and the eminent service he has performed to your majesty and his country, we most humbly beseech your majesty, that an additional revenue may be settled on his Royal Highness, and his issue male, which provision, we pray almighty God, by the long continuance of his illustrious line, may remain as a lasting monument to all ages of our respect, gratitude and affection to his Royal Highness the DUKE, to whose distinguished courage and conduct, under God and your majesty, we owe the pleasing prospect of being delivered from the horrors and desolation that must have accompanied the continuance of this unnatural rebellion : Wherefore your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects,

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the lords, &c. &c. do most humbly beseech your majesty that it may be enacted, &c."

On the twelfth of July following, "The king was pleased to grant unto his Royal Highness WILLIAM DUKE of CUMBERLAND, his heirs and assigns, the office of ranger and keeper of Windsor great park, in room of John Spencer *, deceased, for and during his own life, and the lives of their Royal Highnesses the princess Amelia and the princess Caroline."

While these transactions passed in England, the DUKE of CUMBERLAND remained still vigilant in Scotland, where he formed a camp at Fort Augustus, on the twenty-fourth of May, with eleven battalions of foot, and the duke of Kingston's horse, and took every method totally to eradicate the seeds of the rebellion. After the battle of Culloden, his Royal Highness began with the rebels in a gentle, paternal way, with soft admonitions, and a gracious promise of pardon and protection to all the common people, who would bring in their arms and submit to mercy. Some took this opportunity, and were dismissed in peace with protections to their habitations: but great numbers, especially the Camerons, Mac Donalds, Grants, and Frasers, were perfidious: they frequently promised to surrender, appointed their own time, and as often broke their engagements; which, at last, obliged his Royal Highness to lay the rod more heavy on them, by sending detachments to scour their countries, and drive off their cattle, which were brought to the camp in great

* The honorable John Spencer, esquire, brother to the duke of Marlborough. He died on the 19th of June, and left issue, by

the second daughter of John, earl Granville, one son, the present lord Spencer.

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numbers, and sometimes two thousand in a drove. The rebels were greatly surprized to see the DUKE's soldiers climb over the rocks and mountains as nimble as they could themselves, and to bring cattle from places which they thought inaccessible. The number of prisoners increased at Inverness: the prisons at Aberdeen, Montrose, and Stirling were filled; and prisoners were continually brought into Perth, Dumferling, Dundee, Irvine, and Dumfries.

His Royal Highness detached major-general Campbell, with the Argyleshire highlanders towards Lochabar, to clear that country of the rebels, who were beginning to rob and plunder it. Lord Ancram marched, with lord Mark Kerr's regiment, towards the eastern coast. Lieutenant-colonel Leighton was ordered to take the command of the castle of Stirling; and major-general Blakeney was to command the troops that were left at Inverness. His Royal Highness also ordered the transport ships to Shields to revictual, so as to embark the Hessian troops for Flanders, with all possible expedition: and brigadier-general Mordaunt was ordered with the royals, Pulteney's, and Sempill's regiment, to replace the Hessians at Perth.

Alexander Mac Donald, of Glenco, surrendered his arms and those of all his people to general Campbell, submitting himself to his majesty's mercy: his example was followed by Appin, and both of them gave notice thereof to such of their men as were absent, ordering them to return to their own country*: the earl of Loudon received the submission of the Camerons and Mac Donalds of Lochiel and Barrisdale; while the Mac Pher-

* General Campbell's letter, dated Appin, May 21.

sons submitted to general Mordaunt. Lord George Sackville and major Wilson, on the fifth of June, marched from Fort Augustus to the barrack of Berner with five hundred foot; from whence they were to proceed southward along the coast, until they came to the head of Loch Arkek, where lieutenant-colonel Cornwallis was with another corps of three hundred men. From thence the two corps were to proceed through the counties of the Mac Donalds of Moidart and Knoidart; while captain Scot, with the old garrison of Fort William, which was relieved by Houghton's regiment, were to advance from the south to meet them; and general Campbell was to scour the country about Mingay castle. By which means it was very rationally expected, that this force would disperse the small remains of the rebels, if any of them should be got together.

The lord mayor of London and others, on the twenty-seventh of November, 1745, began a subscription at Guildhall, for the better relief, support, and encouragement of the soldiers, during the winter season, towards the suppression of the rebellion. A committee was chosen for disposal of the money arising from such subscription, consisting of the lord mayor, the twelve judges, the master of the rolls, the aldermen subscribers, the chamberlain of London, the master or prime warden of every company which subscribed one hundred pounds; the deputy of every ward, or any other person who subscribed one hundred pounds, and seven other select persons. It was resolved, that the committee should have power to draw upon the chamberlain for monies; and that the lord-mayor should communicate their proceedings to the DUKE of CUMBERLAND and marshal Wade, and desire their

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their opinion how the money ought to be best applied. The contributors to this subscription amounted, on the fifth of February 1746, to the sum of eighteen thousand four hundred and thirty five pounds, of which seventeen thousand two hundred and fifty six pound had been disposed of in the following manner :

	£.
For rewards to the maimed and wounded —	5000
For rewards to such private soldiers and non-commission officers, whose bravery merited it	5000
Sent to Newcastle for the benefit of the sick —	300
Twelve thousand shirts —	2105
Fifteen thousand pair of breeches —	2468
Sixteen thousand five hundred pair of stockings	825
Ten thousand woollen caps —	208
Twelve thousand pair of gloves —	290
Nine thousand one hundred pair of woollen ankle spatterdashies —	322
One thousand blankets —	337
By sundry imprests, to answer the insurance and freight to Scotland, carriage and other contingent expences —	400
Undisposed of —	1178

His Royal Highness the DUKE of CUMBERLAND wrote a very elegant letter, all with his own hand to Sir Richard Hoare, the lord-mayor of London, acquainting him, that “ he had received the five thousand pounds sent by the committee of the Guild hall subscription for the use of the soldiers who had distinguished themselves most in the field of action ; and that he intended to dispose of it in the following manner : four thousand pound to the common

men

men, and the other thousand pound to the non-commissioned officers, if agreeable to his lordship and the committee." This letter was received, on the fourth of June, by the lord mayor, who called a council, and laid it before them; upon which, they immediately came to a resolution: "To return his Royal Highness thanks for the honor he had done them, and to desire him to dispose of the five thousand pounds as they first intended, and they would immediately raise another thousand pound for the non-commissioned officers." This was very pleasing to the DUKE, and highly acceptable to all his army.

About the same time, the court of sessions sat down at Edinburgh, to the great satisfaction of the whole nation, as there was a surcease of justice for ten months, upon occasion of the rebellion: but, on the thirteenth of February, an act of parliament was passed, "To indemnify this court* for not meeting on the first of November last."

On the fourth of June, fourteen colors taken from the rebels at the battle of Culloden, and sent by the DUKE of CUMBERLAND to Edinburgh, were carried in procession from the castle under a detachment of colonel Lee's regiment, and were publicly burnt by the hands of the common hangman at the cross.

The DUKE of CUMBERLAND was elected chancellor of the university of St. Andrews, and presented with the minutes of his election in a gold box. This university was erected by Henry Wardlaw, bishop of St. Andrew's,

* It was instituted by king James V. in 1532, who also created it a college of justice, after the form of the supreme sovereign court of the parliament of Paris. The court sits from the first of No-

vember to the last of February, and from the 1st of June to the last of July. It consists of a president and fourteen other members, besides some extraordinary lords of session.

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in 1411, and since has been endowed with several immunities.

The rebellion was totally suppressed, and his Royal Highness made the necessary preparations for his return to England. He left five regiments of dragoons, and sixteen regiments of foot, cantoned in different parts of Scotland, under the command of the earl of Albemarle*. The houses of Glengary and Lochiel were destroyed, as also were many other habitations belonging to the fugitive rebels, particularly castle Downie, the seat of lord Lovat; which was the entire subjugation of this fierce and intractable people, whom neither the Romans nor Saxons could reduce, and who had often bid defiance to their native kings †.

His Royal Highness the DUKE ordered a new fort to be erected at the ferry of Artherseer, about six miles north-west of Nairn, and opposite to Chanry; which fort must be very convenient for commanding the Murray frith. He then visited Fort William, where he publicly thanked the governor and garrison for their gallant defence of that place; after which, his Royal Highness set out from thence, on the eighteenth of July, on his return to London. He took the route to Stirling, and arrived in

* It is thought unnecessary to enter into a contest about this matter with "T. Smollet, M. D." whose virulence has incurred the heavy lash of his own countryman "Andrew Henderson, M. A." Worthy antagonists!

† "The Scots, a fatal race,
Whom God in wrath contriv'd to place,
To scourge our crimes and check our pride,
A constant thorn in England's side:
Who first our greatness to oppose,
He in his vengeance mark'd for foes;
Then more to work his wrathful ends,
And more to curse us mark'd for friends."

Doctor DUKE.

good

good health at the palace of Holyrood-house in Edinburgh, on the twenty-first at night, attended by the marquis of Granby, lord Cathcart, colonel York, and a detachment of Kingston's light-horse, with a few hussars, whom his Royal Highness had brought from the Austrian Netherlands.

On the approach of the DUKE to Edinburgh, the inhabitants intended to have had the most splendid illuminations, and other demonstrations of joy : but that true modesty which ever accompanies the hero, and distinguishes public as well as private virtue, prevented these rejoicings : for his Royal Highness previously signified his pleasure to the magistrates that nothing of that kind should be done : yet this could not prevent some thousands of the citizens from meeting him on the road, blessing their deliverer, and attending him with the loudest acclamations to the royal palace, where he was presented with the freedom of the several incorporations of trades in a gold box of excellent workmanship.

The next morning early his Royal Highness left Edinburgh, and arrived at York on the twenty third, when the archbishop, at the head of the dean and clergy, attended his Royal Highness, whom the archbishop addressed in the following speech :

PERMIT me, Sir, in the name of my brethren, the clergy of this diocese and province, the king's ever faithful subjects, to testify to your Royal Highness their exceeding joy at your happy and victorious return out of the north. I want words to express the fulness of our grateful hearts on this occasion, and therefore I shall not attempt it. Your conduct, royal Sir, has been glorious ;
and

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and though the things you have done for the nation are singularly great, your manner of performing them is still more to be admired. You have restored the public tranquillity at a very critical season; and done it, sir, as became your high character in every amiable light. Courage is almost natural to a young prince, and is inherent in your royal blood; activity and industry are often constitutional: but to plan a great design maturely, at a perilous conjuncture; to execute it with all the coolness, caution, and providence of an old general, actuated with the fire and exertion of a young one; to use moderation and modesty in success; and in the midst of victory, where obdurate perfidy did not call for exemplary punishment, to treat unnatural and unprovoked rebels to the best government in the world, as deluded subjects.—These are things, sir, which truth obliges me to say, though unpolitely in the hearing of your Royal Highness, shew the greatness of your understanding, and the goodness of your heart; which makes every subject of Great Britain not only admire, love, and serve you as the son of their royal master, and the brother of their beloved prince, but trust and depend upon you as the happy instrument of heaven to save, protect, and raise the honor of the nation. Go on, as you have began, great sir, in the paths of virtue and glory: and may the good providence of God always go along with you, direct all your councils, cover your head in the day of battle, and, as you fight the cause of truth and liberty, give uninterrupted success to all your undertakings."

The DUKE returned a most gracious answer, and shewed the greatest respect to his reverend attendants, who departed

departed from his Royal Highness with the greatest marks of civility and respect.

The lord mayor and aldermen of York, had resolved to present the DUKE OF CUMBERLAND with the freedom of that city in a gold box; and dispatched an express to his Royal Highness, on the ninth of May, to desire the favor of him to make York in his way to London. Accordingly they attended upon his Royal Highness, with the freedom of the city, which was presented to him by the recorder, who delivered the following speech upon the occasion:

“ May it please your Royal Highness,

THE city of York begs leave to congratulate your Royal Highness on your safe arrival here, scarce from those dangers, which, for the sake of your country only, you exposed yourself to; and to express the sense of the honor done them, by being admitted into the presence of their immediate deliverer from all those evils which popery and slavery threatened; the preserver of all those blessings to us, which, under his majesty's most auspicious government, we have in every circumstance of life the full enjoyment of. This city, had they had a more timely notice of the honor your Royal Highness now does them, would have attempted to have received your Highness in a manner more agreeable to what they intended: but, at present, can only, as a small testimony of their duty to his majesty and his family, and as a small acknowledgement to what they owe personally to your Royal Highness, beg your acceptance of this box, and to permit them to enrol your name as a member of this city: an honor our ancestors have in no time equaled, and

which

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which our posterity must ever with gratitude and duty remember, so long as his majesty's family shall continue upon the throne of these kingdoms, and your Royal Highness's glorious and heroic acts shall be remembered ; which we most sincerely wish may be as long as time itself shall endure."

The judges, upon the circuit, paid their compliment to his Royal Highness, and the city was illuminated from end to end ; and the acclamations of the people were such, as could not be remembered upon any other occasion.

His Royal Highness left York the next morning, and arrived at Kensington on the twenty fifth, about two in the afternoon, when he was received by his majesty and the royal family in the most joyful, tender and affectionate manner. As soon as it was known, all the bells in London and Westminster began to ring, the guns were fired in the park and at the tower, general illuminations were made in the evening, and all other demonstrations of the greatest joy were given from people of all ranks. The court, the city, and the nation, all joined in acclaiming their prince, hero, preserver, and deliverer.

The lord mayor, aldermen, and a committee of the common council of London, on the sixth of August, went in a grand procession, and presented the DUKE of CUMBERLAND with the freedom of the city in a gold box curiously engraved with the city arms, which his Royal Highness accepted in a very obliging manner.

While the DUKE of CUMBERLAND was suppressing the rebellion in Scotland, the campaign was opened in the Netherlands. The confederate army assembled in
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the neighborhood of Antwerp, on the twenty-fourth of March, by marshal Bathiani, who had only four battalions and nine squadrons of the British troops, sixteen battalions and thirty five squadrons of the Dutch, ten battalions and sixteen squadrons of Austrians, with sixteen battalions and twenty six squadrons of Hanoverians; in all forty four thousand men. Marshal Saxe assembled the French army about Brussels; it consisted of one hundred and twenty thousand men; and the French monarch, on the twenty fourth of April, took the field at the head of this irresistible force. Antwerp, Mons, St. Guilain, Charleroy, and Namur were taken by the French, whose army was diminished to one hundred thousand men; while the confederates were augmented to eighty seven thousand, under the command of prince Charles of Lorrain, who supplied the absence of his friend the DUKE of CUMBERLAND.

The Hessian troops and three English regiments, embarked on board the transports at Leith, on the tenth of June, under the command of the earl of Craufurd, who saw them safely landed at Williamstadt on the eighteenth, and conducted them to the allied army in the Netherlands: but his serene highness the prince of Hesse went to London, and waited upon the king at Kensington when his majesty presented him with a sword of curious workmanship, richly set with diamonds.

The DUKE of CUMBERLAND was intent upon sending succors to prince Charles of Lorrain, who was to be joined by a further additional force of five battalions under Sir John Ligonier; for which purpose a detachment of foot-guards, amounting to two thousand men, went on board lighters at the tower, on the tenth of September,

for Gravesend, from whence they were to embark for Flanders. His Royal Highness the DUKE was at the Tower-wharf to see them embark, and ordered two shillings to each man. The whole detachment went off very chearfully, with huzzas of "long live king George and the DUKE of CUMBERLAND."

The new regiments raised by the earl of Halifax and other noblemen were disbanded, and the men were desired to enter into the old regiments. The duke of Kingston's horse, which had done good service at Culloden, was also disbanded at Nottingham, on the fifteenth, when the common men had each three guineas given them, with their bridles and saddles: and every officer and soldier was informed of the contents of a letter sent to the duke of Kingston, upon that occasion, by the secretary at war, who also sent a similar letter to the other noblemen, on disbanding their regiments. The letter to the duke of Kingston was as follows:

"My lord,

HIS majesty has thought fit to order the regiment of horse under your grace's command to be disbanded: but as the king considers the zeal and affection expressed for his person and government, in your grace's offer to raise this regiment in the late important time of national danger, and the chearfulness and the alacrity with which it was raised, he cannot part with it without expressing his particular satisfaction therein. I am, therefore, by his majesty's command, and in his name, to thank your grace and your officers, for the seasonable and distinguishing marks you have given of your fidelity and attachment to his majesty on this occasion. I am likewise commanded

ded by his majesty to desire your grace, and the rest of your officers, to thank the private men, in his name, for their services before they are dismissed, in order that there may be no one person in your regiment unacquainted with the sense his majesty has of their loyalty, activity, and gallant behavior in his service : qualities which have been so conspicuous in your grace's regiment, that his majesty, willing to retain as many as possible of such soldiers in his service, has been pleased to order a regiment of dragoons to be raised at the same time and place, when and where your grace's regiment shall be disbanded ; and to direct, that as many of the officers and private men belonging to your grace's regiment, as shall be willing may serve in the said regiment of dragoons, of which, as a signal mark of honor and distinction, his Royal Highness the DUKE will himself be colonel. As this is a great and most honorable proof of his majesty's royal approbation of your past services ; so I doubt not but that your grace, and the other officers of your regiment, will engage as many as may be of your men to enlist themselves ; and thereby shew, that the same zeal continues for their king and country, which they have already so meritoriously exerted in defence of both. I am, with the greatest respect,

My lord, your grace's

Most obedient,

Most humble servant,

H. F o x."

War Office,
Sept. 1746.

All the men, except eight, immediately entered into the DUKE's new regiment ; and those gentlemen who did not enter gave reasons very satisfactory and honorable.

C c 2

Accordingly

Accordingly the king was pleased to constitute and appoint his Royal Highness the DUKE of CUMBERLAND to be colonel, the right honorable lord Robert Sutton*, to be colonel, and Evelyn Chadwick, esquire, to be major: James Otway, Charles Hatt, and Joseph Hall, esquires, to be captains; William Kirk, esquire, to be lieutenant-captain; John Litchfield, Charles Mellish, Nicholas Kirk, Thomas Smith, and George Brown, lieutenants; William Hatt, Thomas Kirton, and William Padgett, cornets of a regiment of dragoons to be forthwith raised for his majesty's service; all of whom were officers in the duke of Kingston's horse: and Chiverton Hartop, esquire, the late major of that regiment, was appointed deputy-governor of Plymouth.

The care and gratitude of his Royal Highness extended to all those who distinguished themselves about his person, or participated in his dangers †. Henry Seymour Conway, esquire, one of his aid-de-camps, was made colonel of Ligonier's regiment of foot: lord George Sackville, lieutenant-colonel of Bragg's, was appointed colonel of Bligh's regiment: Sir Andrew Agnew was made colonel of Jeffrey's regiment of marines. Lord viscount Bury was appointed aid-de-camp to his majesty; and was succeeded by captain Hudson, as aid-de-camp to the DUKE, who likewise recommended captain Ferguson, late commander of the Furnace bomb, to be captain of a new twenty gun ship, for his good services during the

* Brother to the marquis of Granby.

† The earl of Stair was constituted general of all the marine forces: and Sir John Ligonier was appointed general of horse and command-

der in chief of all his majesty's British forces, and of those in his majesty's pay in the Austrian Netherlands: and the earl of Albemarle was made commander in chief of the forces in Scotland.

rebellion

rebellion. So true his Royal Highness thought it, that the officers who served in his majesty's armies, ought to be such as deserved their commands, and not such as paid for them.

While the DUKE of CUMBERLAND had this sedulity in obtaining military preferments for his fellow soldiers; the government thought it necessary that those who had violated their fidelity and allegiance to their sovereign, and involved their country in such calamity and confusion, should expiate their crimes, by satisfying the demands of national justice.

Many witnesses were examined by both houses of parliament, against most of the principal persons concerned in the rebellion; in consequence of which an act of attainder was passed*, on the fourth of June, to attain of high treason, Alexander, earl of Kellie; William, viscount Strathallan; Alexander lord Pitfligo; David Wemyss, esquire, commonly called lord Elcho, eldest son and heir apparent to James earl of Wemyss; James Drummond, esquire, eldest son of lord Strathallan;

* A learned foreigner observes, that "there are in those states where liberty is most respected, laws which violate it, against a particular person, in order to preserve it to the subject in general. Such are in England, what are called bills of attainder. They have some resemblance to those laws of Athens, which had force against a private person, provided they were passed with the consent of six thousand citizens. They have also some relation to the laws sometimes enacted at Rome, against private persons, and which were called Privilegia: they were never

made but in the great comitia of the Roman people: but in whatever way that people passed them, Cicero was of opinion they should be abolished, because the force of a law resides in its bearing equally against all. I confess, however, that the practice of the people, the freest that ever have existed upon the face of the earth, inclines me to believe that there are cases, in which one may for an instant throw a veil over liberty, as the statues of the gods were shrouded on certain occasions." Montesquieu's spirit of laws.

Simon Frazer, esquire, eldest son of lord Lovat ; George Murray, esquire, brother to the duke of Athol ; Lewis Gordon, esquire, brother to the duke of Gordon ; James Drummond, called duke of Perth ; James Graham, called viscount of Dundee ; John Nairn, called lord Nairn ; David Ogilvie, called lord Ogilvie ; John Drummond, called lord John Drummond, brother to the titular duke of Perth ; and divers others * therein mentioned, if they should not surrender themselves, on or before the twelfth of July, 1746, and submit to justice.

Mr. Murray, of Broughton, secretary to the young pretender, was seized by a party of St. George's dra-

* Posterity should be acquainted with their names : therefore they are inserted as follows :

Robert Mercer, esquire, alias Nairn, of Aldie.

Sir William Gordon, of Park.

John Murray, of Broughton.

John Gordon, the elder, of Glenbucket.

Donald Cameron, the younger, of Lochiel.

Dr. Archibald Cameron, brother of Lochiel.

Ludovick Cameron, of Tor-castle.

Alexander Cameron of Dungallon.

Donald Mac Donald, the younger of Clanronald.

Donald Mac Donald, of Lochgarie.

Alexander Mac Donald, of Kerpoch.

Archibald Mac Donald, of Barrisdale.

Alexander Mac Donald, of Glencoe.

Evan Mac Pherson, of Clunie.

Lauchlan Mac Laughlan, of Castle Laughlan.

John McKinnon, of Mac Kinnon.

George Lockhart, eldest son of George Lockhart, of Carnwath.

Charles Stewart, of Ardsfields.

Laurence Oliphant, the elder, of Gask.

Laurence Oliphant, the younger, of Gask.

James Graham, the younger, of Airth.

John Stewart, called John Roy Stewart.

Francis Farquharson, of Monalterry.

Alexander Mac Gillivray, of Drumaglass.

Lauchlan Mac Intosh, merchant, of Inverness.

Malcolm Ross, of Pitcalny.

Alexander MacLeod.

John Ray, of Restalrig, writer to the signet.

Andrew Lunsdald.

William Fidler, clerk in the auditor's office.

Thus some of the principal families in Scotland were sacrificed to the artifices of France, as much as to their own principles ; for some of them certainly acted from principle ; which must make their case more deplorable, when rationally considered.

goons, on the seventeenth of June, at the house of Mr. Hunter of Polmood, who married Mr. Murray's sister; the dragoons brought him before the lord justice clerk, who committed him close prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh. The same day, the earl of Kellie surrendered himself to the same magistrate, and was committed prisoner to the same place, whereby his attainder was saved. Alexander Mac Donald of Kingsborrow was taken up for having received and entertained the pretender's son, at his house in Skey: he was sent prisoner by the earl of Albemarle to Edinburgh, and was also committed to the castle. Sir John Douglas of Kilhead, baronet, member for Dumfries, was taken into custody of a messenger: and the elder laird of Mac Innon was taken by the Argyleshire men. On the ninth of August, the earl of Traquair, who had been some time in the custody of a messenger, was carried prisoner to the tower of London: and doctor Barry was committed to Newgate on the fourteenth. The interposition of M. Van Hoey, the Dutch minister at Paris, had no good effect; it rather irritated the government against the unhappy victims, and was occasioned as follows:

M. d'Argenson, secretary of state for foreign affairs, wrote a letter from the French camp at Bouchot in Brabant, to M. Van Hoey, dated the fifteenth of May, 1746, whereby he informed him, "That the French king had ordered him to write to his excellency concerning the situation of prince Edward and his adherents, since the advantage gained over them by the English troops, the sixteenth of last month. All Europe knew the ties of parentage which subsisted between them and prince Edward. Moreover that young prince was endowed with

all the qualities which might engage those powers to interest themselves in his favor, who esteemed true courage; and the king of England was himself too just and impartial a judge of true merit, not to set a value upon it even in an enemy. The character of the British nation in general, could not likewise but inspire all true Englishmen with the same sentiments of admiration, for a countryman so distinguished by his talents and heroic virtues. That all these reasons ought naturally to favor the fate of prince Edward; and at the same time the French might expect from the moderation and clemency of the king of England, that he would not suffer those persons to be persecuted with the utmost rigor, who, in a time of trouble and confusion, followed the standard which was lately overthrown by the British arms, under the command of the DUKE of CUMBERLAND. That it was with this view, the king ordered him to desire his excellency to write to the English ministry, and to represent to it in the strongest manner, the inconveniences which must infallibly result from any violent proceedings against prince Edward. But if any attempts should be made, either with respect to his liberty, or the lives of his friends and partisans, it was easy to foresee that a spirit of animosity and fury might prove one dreadful consequence of such rigor; and how many innocent people, before the end of the war, might fall victims to a violence which could only aggravate the evil, and would certainly set no good example to Europe."

This was an unparalleled strain of insolence, even from a French court, which affected to dictate laws to all the European powers; and the very reasons assigned for this intercession, demonstrated the insincerity of it.

M. Van

M. Van Hoey was entirely attached to the interest of France, and therefore wrote a letter to the duke of Newcastle, dated Paris, May 22, 1746, in support of the letter from the French secretary of state; wherein he wished, to convince mankind, that by doing to others as we would they should do unto us, was the foundation of the supreme happiness of states, nations, kings, their subjects, and in general of human kind. "May you, says he, banish that pernicious art which discord has brought into the world, of seducing men to destroy each other. Wretched policy, which substitutes revenge, hatred, jealousy, and avarice, to take place of the divine precepts, which form the glory of kings, and happiness of their subjects. Courage, by way of excellency, is called virtue; because it is founded on the love of happiness, and directed in all it's motions by goodness, equity and moderation. True heroes make their victories become profitable to those they conquer, and raise for themselves immortal trophies of honor, by subduing resentment and revenge. Thus has clemency been revered by wise men in all ages, as the magnanimous, most useful, and most pious of all virtues. May two such great kings never cease to emulate which shall be the highest example of humanity, clemency, and greatness of soul."

The vanity of the Dutchman was equal to the insolence of the Frenchman: the duke of Newcastle received Van Hoey's letter on the second of June, inclosing that which d'Argenson had wrote to him; and his grace immediately laid it before the king, who was in the greatest astonishment at the contents of that letter, which, as well in what related to the subject of it, as to the manner

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of treating it, was so contrary to his majesty's honor, and to the dignity of his crown, that he could not but consider himself as too much offended by it to make any answer to it. This was signified to M. Van Hoey by the duke of Newcastle, in a letter, dated "Whitehall, June 3, 1764," wherein his grace told the ambassador as follows: "You know, sir, and so do the French ministers, with how scrupulous an exactness his majesty has, on his part, executed the cartel agreed on between him and the most christian king, in it's utmost extent, even to the releasing on their parole all the officers in the French service, who were made prisoners within the limits of these kingdoms, and who were not his majesty's natural born subjects; although the service on which they were then employed might very justly have excused his majesty from it. It is impossible, after this, to doubt of his majesty's sincere desire to do every thing, which the law of nations can require between powers engaged in war with each other, even beyond what is usually practised: but as to what relates to his majesty's own subjects, neither the law of nations, the cartels, nor the practice or example of any country, authorize any foreign power at war with his majesty, to intrude themselves, or to make any demand from his majesty relating thereto. The most christian king knows too well himself the right inherent in every sovereign, to imagine that his majesty can think otherwise." His grace also acquainted M. Van Hoey, that "he could not conceal from his excellency his majesty's surprize, to see that the ambassador of a power so strictly united with him, and so essentially interested in every thing that concerned the honor and security of his majesty's person and government, could charge himself with trans-

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mitting to his majesty so unheard of a demand : and that his majesty could not avoid complaining of it to their high mightinesses the states general.

Accordingly Mr. Trevor, the British ambassador at the Hague, presented the following memorial to the states general, on the eighteenth of June :

High and mighty lords !

THE annexed copy of the answer, written by the duke of Newcastle, by the express order of the king, will inform your high mightinesses of the step which your ambassador has ventured to take towards my court, and of the king's just displeasure thereat. His majesty is astonished to the highest degree, to see an ambassador from your high mightinesses forget his character, and belye the professions of his masters, so as to assist, at the request of a power at open war with Great Britain, by his ministry, to transmit to his majesty a request as unjustifiable as unheard of ; and even dare to support this request, by his own intercession in favor of the head of the rebels and his accomplices. His majesty has commanded me to lay before your high mightinesses, in the most serious terms, his complaints against a proceeding no less injurious to his sovereignty, than derogatory to the engagements that subsist between his crown and your high mightinesses ; and, as the king persuades himself, no less contrary to the invariable maxims of this state. His majesty commands me, at the same time, to demand of your high mightinesses such a distinguished satisfaction as may be some way proportionable to the scandal which this proceeding has given to every true friend to the honor, liberty and religion of the two powers. As to the
choice

choice of this satisfaction, the king thinks he runs no risque in leaving it to the friendship and zeal of a free protestant state, and his ally, who besides owes this justice to herself, and to her own sentiments on the occasion."

The states-general referred this memorial to the deputies for foreign affairs, who made their report; upon which it was judged proper to send a copy of it to M. Van Hoey, and acquaint him, " That their high mightinesses having inspected the papers relating to this affair, not only disapproved of, but were extremely offended by his conduct on this occasion. That he ought to have known and considered that it did not become him to concern himself in an affair so very critical, and so odious, as the rebellion within the dominions of his Britannic majesty, with whom their high mightinesses were so strictly allied, as well as so nearly interested to preserve his majesty's lawful and established government, and maintain the religion, liberty and tranquillity of his kingdoms. That any enterprize against either of these must afflict them in the most sensible manner; and their abhorrence of such undertakings did not permit them to suffer any person, invested with the character of their ambassador, to take the liberty of interceding, or supporting the intercession of others, in favor of rebels, without the least knowledge of the states. That, moreover, M. Van Hoey ought to have considered that the intercession of the court of France, in the case in question, must naturally be more prejudicial than advantageous, since his Britannic majesty, supposing him inclined to mercy, would undoubtedly chuse to exert it of his free motion, and not by the intercession of a power with which his majesty

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was engaged in open war; and which, for that reason, had supported that rebellion. That for these reasons M. Van Hoey might legally, and ought to have excused himself from taking charge of M. d'Argenson's letter: but having done the contrary, their high mightinesses disavowed it, and disapproved his inconsiderate conduct in the highest degree. And in order to remove the offence, which his conduct in such an affair had so justly given to the court of Great Britain, they commanded him to write to the duke of Newcastle, a decent and polite letter, to acknowledge his imprudence, confess the fault he had committed, and beg pardon, promising to behave himself more prudently for the future. That as to what remained, he must take diligent care not to give any cause of scandal or offence to the allies of the state, or embarrass their high mightinesses, who, being very much displeased at his ill conduct on this occasion, as they had often been at his inconsiderate proceedings*, would no more treat him with the same indulgence, if he continued to pursue the same manners."

In consequence of this order, M. Van Hoey wrote two apologetical letters to the duke of Newcastle, on the fourth and eighth of July, wherein he declared, "That he was extremely mortified to have displeased his Britannic majesty; of whom he hoped forgiveness, and intreated the interposition of his grace to excuse the imprudence which appeared in his conduct."

Such was the consequence of this French address, and Dutch negotiation, in favor of the rebels, many of whom

* This may be fully seen in my "Impartial representation of the conduct of the several powers of Europe, engaged in the late general war;" vol. II. p. 7—14. p. 95—103.

experienced

experienced the royal clemency by the interposition of the DUKE of CUMBERLAND, who expressed the highest sense of resentment against the French for thus publicly avowing their attachment to the young pretender and his adherents, and by supporting their impolitic insolence with as impotent menaces.

By the late act of parliament passed in March last, prisoners charged with high treason were to be tried in such county as his majesty should appoint; therefore to bring the rebel prisoners to justice, the judges issued a precept to the high-sheriff of Surry, on the seventh of June, to summon a jury for the trial of the rebels, in the borough of Southwark: and, on the twenty-third, eight of the judges went in procession from Serjeant's-Inn in Fleet-street, to the town-hall on St. Margaret's hill, where they opened a special commission for the trial of those delinquents: and the same day the grand jury found bills of indictment for high treason against thirty seven prisoners from Carlisle: they were brought to the bar, and arraigned on the third of July, before the lord chief justice Lee, the lord chief justice Willes, Mr. justice Wright, Mr. baron Reynolds, Mr. baron Clarke, and Mr. baron Clive, when three pleaded guilty, and the others not guilty, on which they had time granted them to prepare for their trials until the fifteenth.

The court met again upon that day, and proceeded to the trial of Francis Townley, colonel of the Manchester regiment, and governor of Carlisle. The counsel for the king were Mr. attorney-general, Mr. solicitor-general, Sir John Strange, Sir Richard Lloyd, and Mr. Yorke: and for the prisoner Mr. serjeant Wynne, and Mr. Clayton,

ton, who alledged, that the prisoner had been sixteen years in the French service, had a colonel's commission from the French king, and had a right to the benefit of the cartel between the two enemies: but the jury brought the prisoner in guilty.

The court afterwards sat by different adjournments to the twenty-second of July; in which time fourteen other officers belonging to the Manchester regiment were found guilty, and the lord chief justice Lee pronounced sentence against them, to be hanged, drawn and quartered, as in case of high treason: but they all desired to be recommended to the mercy of his majesty.

On the thirtieth, Francis Townley, colonel; Thomas Deacon, lieutenant-colonel; George Fletcher, John Barwick, and James Dawson, captains; Thomas Chadwick and Andrew Blood, lieutenants; Thomas Syddal, adjutant; and David Morgan, esquire, called the pretender's counsellor, all belonging to the Manchester regiment, were conveyed on three hurdles, from the New Goal in Southwark to the gallows on Kennington-common, where they were executed pursuant to their sentence.

The French ministry obtained a pass-port for one of their commissaries of war to come to England, and negotiate an exchange of prisoners, according to the cartel of Franckfort. M. d'Argenson's letter to M. Van Hoey

* A young gentleman, who took his leave of them on the morning they were executed, tenderly expressed his concern for them: but they all said they had done nothing they thought worthy of repentance.—The heads of Townley and Fletcher were fixed on Temple bar; those of Deacon

Barwick, Chadwick, and Syddal were preserved in spirits and sent to Manchester, where they were set up in proper places. It is remarkable, that Syddal's father was executed as a rebel in 1716, and his head set on the market-cross at Manchester.

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was only a preparatory step to this enormous stride; for Mr. Townley's name was inserted at the top of a list of prisoners demanded by the French on account of the cartel, as he and they had the French king's commission; but the opinion of the law was entirely against this pretension; so that they all suffered according to law.

On the second of August, Donald Mac Donald, a captain in Keppoch's regiment; Alexander Mac Gruther, a captain of Perth's regiment; James Nicholson, a lieutenant in the same, and Walter Ogilvie, a lieutenant in lord Lewis Gordon's regiment, were found guilty; and Mac Donald, Nicholson, and Ogilvie were executed at Kennington on the twenty-second: but Mac Gruther was reprieved. The two former were in the highland dress, and declared they were deceived by the duke of Perth and the person that stiled himself the French ambassador, who assured them, that all the pretender's party were intitled to the benefit of the cartel settled at Frankfort, if they should be made prisoners. Ogilvie, who was a native of Bamff, where he was educated a protestant, and taught the principles of loyalty to the present happy establishment, desired life, only that he might go against the French king, whose emissaries had seduced him and many of his neighbors into the rebellion.

The judges met again, on the twenty third of August, in the court on St. Margaret's hill, when bills were found by the grand-jury against John Mackenzie, called lord Macleod, son to the earl of Cromartie; John Murray, esquire, of Broughton, secretary to the young pretender, Francis Farquharson, colonel of his own regiment; Henry Kerr, colonel and aid-de-camp to lord George Murray,

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Murray; Sir James Kinloch, lieutenant-colonel in Ogilvie's second battalion; Sir John Wedderburn, volunteer in Ogilvie's regiment, collector of excise for the pretender; Nicholas Glascoe, major in that regiment; James Rattray, major in Tullibardine's; Alexander Mac Lauchlan, another major in the same; James Stewart, major in Perth's regiment: Alexander Kinloch and Charles Kinloch, brothers to Sir James, and captains in Ogilvie's regiment; Andrew Wood, captain in Roy Stewart's; Allan Cameron, captain in Lochiel's; Colin Mackenzie and Roderic Macculloch, captains in Cromartie's; John Farquharson, captain in Farquharson's; James Bradshaw, captain in the Manchester regiment; Roderic Mackenzie and Hector Mackenzie, lieutenants in Cromartie's; Thomas Watson, ensign in Ogilvie's; and James Lindsay, a life-guard man in lord Piusligo's troop. Lord Macleod and Mr. secretary Murray were not brought to the bar, as they were to receive the royal mercy; the former on account of his youth, and the latter for his discoveries: but Sir James Stewart died in the New goal on the twenty fourth.

The prisoners were arraigned on the third of September, and pleaded not guilty. Their trials came on the thirteenth of October, when Sir James Kinloch, John Hamilton, the rebel governor of Carlisle-castle; and Roderic Macculloch, pleaded guilty. George Abernethy, captain in Glenbucket's regiment, and commissary of stores at Carlisle, was found guilty, but recommended by the jury for mercy. On the twenty third, John Burnet, captain of artillery in the rebel army, and Charles Gordon, lieutenant in Ogilvie's, were found guilty. On the

twenty-fourth, James Gordon, lieutenant of artillery was found guilty. On the twenty-fifth, colonel Farquharson and major Stewart, retracted and pleaded guilty : and Alexander Leith, captain in Glenbucket's ; George Ramsay, an ensign in the same ; and Walter Mitchel, an ensign in Perth's, were found guilty. On the twenty-eighth, James Lindsay was found guilty. On the twenty-ninth, Alexander Kinloch, Charles Kinloch and Andrew Hood were found guilty. Major Rattray, brother-in-law to Sir James Kinloch, was acquitted on the thirty-first. Allan Cameron was found guilty on the first of November, and Sir John Wedderburn on the fourth ; as were colonel Kerr and major Mac Lauchlan on the sixth ; Thomas Watson and Hector Mackenzie, on the seventh, and John Farquharson on the eighth. Major Glascoe, Colin Mackenzie, Roderic Mackenzie, and Alexander Buchanan, were acquitted.

The lord chief justice Lee, on the fifteenth, passed sentence of death upon the following twenty two persons for high treason : Sir James Kinloch, Sir John Wedderburn, John Hamilton, Francis Farquharson, Henry Kerr, Alexander Mac Laughlan, James Stewart, Andrew Wood, Roderic Mac Culloch, Allan Cameron, John Farquharson, James Bradshaw, Alexander Leith, George Abernethy, John Burnet, Charles Gordon, James Gordon, Walter Mitchel, George Ramsay, Hector Mackenzie, Thomas Watson, and James Lindsay. But of those unhappy persons only the five following were executed at Kennington-common on the twenty-eighth of November : Sir John Wedderburn, John Hamilton, James Bradshaw, Andrew Wood, and Alexander Leith.

Colonel

Colonel Farquharson and Thomas Watson were to have suffered with them, but were reprieved in the morning; as was James Lindsay when he was going into the sledge.

The judges sat again in Southwark, on the fifteenth of December, when Alexander and Charles Kinloch were found guilty, and received sentence on the twentieth, together with Alexander Hay, a volunteer in lord Pittligo's horse: but none of them were executed. The same day lord Macleod and secretary Murray were arraigned and pleaded guilty. The young lord addressed the court in the most respectful manner; and said, "He stood indicted for one of the most heinous of all crimes, that of rebellion and treason against the best of kings, and his only rightful lord and sovereign; but that his heart never was consenting to the unnatural and wicked part he then acted: He desired their lordships to remember his youth, and that he was in that state of life when even an unhappy father's example was almost a law: but if on their lordship's kind representation of his case, his majesty should think fit, in his great goodness, to extend his compassion to him, what of future life or fortune he might ever have, should be entirely devoted to his majesty's service, on whose mercy he absolutely threw himself." They were both remanded back to the tower, and were afterwards pardoned.

At the court held on St. Margaret's hill, on the twenty-third of February, 1747, James Stormont, an ensign in Ogilvie's first battalion; and Charles Oliphant, a lieutenant in Drummond's, were found guilty. Then the lord chief justice Willes passed sentence of death on them; as likewise on Alexander Mackenzie, Henry Moir, and

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Robert Moir. The court fixed the thirteenth of February for their execution; but none of them suffered.

The trials of the rebels imprisoned at Carlisle began on the twelfth of August, before lord chief baron Parker, Mr. justice Burnet, Mr. justice Dennison, and Mr. baron Clarke. The common prisoners were above three hundred and seventy, who were to cast lots, when every twentieth man was to be tried as a kind of decimation, or rather vicesimation*, and the others were reserved for transportation: but some refused to draw lots, and depended upon making their innocence appear at their trials. On the thirteenth, the grand jury found twenty nine bills against the Manchester rebels; and the next day twenty eight bills were found against the Scotch rebels taken in England. The prisoners were all brought to the bar, and the judges desired them to choose what counsel they pleased, with a solicitor; and told them they had given directions to the clerk to make out subpoenas without fee, to bring what witnesses they thought proper for their exculpation. Then the court adjourned to the ninth of September, and the judges went to York, where the grand jury found bills against seventy nine rebels.

The judges returned to Carlisle on the ninth of September, and the rebels were daily arraigned till the twelfth, when their trials began, and three lawyers from Edin-

* Among the military punishments of the Romans, "if a great number had offended, the common way of proceeding to justice was by decimation, or putting all the criminals names together in a shield or vessel, and drawing them out by lot; every tenth man being to die without reprieve; so that by

this means, though all were not alike sensible of the punishments, yet all were frightened into obedience. In latter authors we meet sometimes with vicesimatio and centesimatio, which words sufficiently explain themselves." Kennet's antiquities, p. 219. Godwin's antiquities, p. 267.

burgh appeared in their defence. The trials ended on the twenty sixth, when one hundred and forty six prisoners had been tried, of whom ninety one received sentence of death, and twenty two accordingly suffered. These were Thomas Cappoch, who left a good benefice to follow the rebels, and was made by the young pretender bishop of Carlisle; John Henderson, a rebel captain; John Mac Naughton, against whom it was proved that he shot colonel Gardiner, and cut him when down with his broad-sword twice on the shoulder, and once on the head; James Brand, rebel-quarter-master; Daniel Mac Donald, of Kinloch-Moidart; Donald Mac Donald of Tundrish, a rebel major; Francis Buchanan of Arnprior, a captain; Hugh Cameron, and Edward Roper, both officers; who were all executed on the eighteenth of October, at Harrowby gallows, near Carlisle.

Six suffered at Bampton on the twenty first, whose names were Peter Taylor, who escaped from Carlisle, and was retaken at Penrith; Michael Delaird, James Innis, Donald Mac Donald of Edinburgh, Peter Lindsay, and Thomas Park. The same day the following were executed at Penrith: Robert Lynn, a Scotch non-juring minister, and chaplain to Ogilvie's regiment; David Horne, a captain in Balmerino's; James Harvie, a quarter master in Kilmarnock's; Philip Harvey, John Roebotham, and Valentine Holt, three serjeants in the Manchester regiment; and Andrew Swan, a Scotch serjeant*.

* Lynn read an infamous libel, continued in the same principle. and declared if his life had been Horne, Roebotham and Holt, professed they died Roman catholics. given him, he would still have

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Among those who had their lives preserved were Sir Archibald Primrose, baronet; John Cappoch, brother to the rebel bishop; James Hay, captain in Drummond's regiment; Richard Morrison and Alexander Hutchinson, the one valet to the young pretender, and the other his groom.

The trials of the rebel prisoners at York began at the castle there on the second of October, before the same judges; John Reed, esquire, lord mayor of the city; lord Irwin; Sir William St. Quintin; Sir Rowland Wynne; Sir William Wentworth; Mark Braithwaite, L. L. D. Jacques Sterne, L. L. D. Samuel Baker, D. D. William Herring, John Knottesford, and Francis Wood, esquires. The court condemned seventy, of which the following twenty two were executed at the gallows near York. On the first of November, George Hamilton, a captain in Roy Stuart's regiment, and deputy-quarter-master-general, taken prisoner at the skirmish at Clifton; Edward Clavering, Daniel Frazer, Charles Gordon, Benjamin Mason, James Mayne, William Conolly, William Dempsey, Angus Mac Donald, and James Sparks. The heads of Conolly and Mayne were set up at Micklebar-gate, and Hamilton's was sent to Carlisle; but the rest were put into coffins with their bodies, and buried behind the castle. On the eighth, David Row, taken at Clifton; William Hunter of Townly's regiment; John Endsworth, of Grant's regiment; John Mac Clean, and John Mac Gregor, of Perth's; Simon Mac Kenzie of Inverness; Alexander Parker of Stewart's regiment; Thomas Mac Gennis, and Archibald Kennedy of Glenbucker's; James Thompson of Ogilvie's; and Michael Brady

Brady of Glengary's, all suffered at the same place; as did James Reid on the fifteenth; when Daniel Duff, David Ogilvie, and David Wilkie, who were to have suffered with him, were reprieved. Among those who were pardoned, were Sir David Murray, baronet; and the others were transported to America.

Such was the fate of these inferior persons concerned in the rebellion, who found justice tempered with mercy: but there were others of a more exalted rank, who suffered for their crimes, or experienced the royal clemency.

The marquis of Tullibardine died soon after his confinement in the Tower: but the grand jury for the county of Surry, on the twenty-third of June, found bills of indictment for high-treason against the earl of Kilmarnock, the earl of Cromartie, and lord Balmerino. The house of lords directed a writ of certiorari to be issued for bringing the indictments before them; and they also appointed a committee to consider of the methods for bringing these delinquent noblemen to trial. The report of the committee was received on the twenty-seventh, when it was ordered, "That an address be presented to his majesty, to desire that he would be pleased to appoint a lord high-steward to continue during the trials of the earls of Kilmarnock, Cromartie, and Balmerino; and that a place might be prepared in Westminster-hall * for the said trials: that the said lords have notice to prepare

* The trials were to be here, because the house of peers would have been too close in that hot season. - This proceeding by way of indictment was pursuant to the act of 7 W. III. which directs that peers in cases of treason may be

tried by indictment: but as this was the first precedent, an opposition was made to it by John earl Granville, as an innovation, and infringing the privilege of the commons to impeach.

for their trials upon the twenty eighth of July next : that the lord chancellor should send circular letters, giving twenty days notice, to all peers in town and country to attend in their robes ; and that none be excused their attendance, unless prevented by sickness, or other bodily infirmities." Accordingly on the fifth of July, the king was " pleased to order a commission to be passed under the great seal of Great Britain, for constituting and appointing the right honorable Philip lord Hardwick, baron of Hardwicke, chancellor of Great Britain, to be high-steward* of Great Britain, for the trial of William earl of Kilmarnock, George earl of Cromartie, and Arthur lord Balmerino, upon several indictments of high-treason found against them by the grand jury of the county of Surry."

On the twenty-eighth of July, at eight in the morning, the lord high steward, attended by the judges, proceeded in great state from his own house in Ormond street to the house of peers, from whence their lordships attended his grace to Westminster-hall, which was fitted up with the greatest solemnity on so melancholy an occasion : but as

* Formerly, the first great officer of the crown, and styled Magnus Angliæ Seneschallus ; but this power was so exorbitant, that it was thought fit to trust it no longer in the hands of a subject. The last that had a share of inheritance in this high office was Henry of Bolingbroke, son of John of Gaunt, and afterwards king of England. " Since which time they have been made only pro hac vice, to officiate at a coronation ; or for the arraignment of some peer of the realm, to judge and give sentence, as the

ancient high stewards were wont to do ; which ended, his commission expires. During his stewardship he bears a white staff in his hand ; and the trial being over, openly breaks it, and so his office ends." The present state of Great Britain, published in 1755, p. 78.

Sir Edward Coke describes how a peer is to be tried, in case of high-treason, before the lord high steward, and says, " a certiorari is awarded out of chancery, to remove the indictment before the lord steward."

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the proceedings were by indictment, and not by impeachment as in 1716, no scaffolding was ordered for the house of commons. There were one hundred and thirty six peers present*; and while the commission was reading, his grace and the lords stood up, all uncovered; after which his grace was fully invested in his office with the white staff, presented to him jointly by garter king of arms and the usher of the black rod on their knees. His grace then sat down in the chair placed for him on an ascent before the throne; the peers were seated on their benches, and the judges and masters in chancery below on their seats.

The same morning the three rebel lords, prisoners in the tower, were carried from thence in three coaches, under a strong guard to Westminster-hall, where they were brought to the bar of this august tribunal. The king's council opened the indictment, to which the two earls pleaded guilty, and desired to be recommended to his majesty for mercy, and lord Balmerino did the same, after pleading an exception, which was over-ruled. They were all three found guilty by their peers, whose resolutions were declared to them by the lord high steward, and they were ordered to be brought up on the thirtieth to receive sentence.

Upon that day, the lord high steward went to Westminster-Hall attended as before; and the prisoners being brought again before their peers, the earl of Kilmarnock made the following elegant and pathetic speech to move their lordships to intercede for him with his majesty:

* "No number of peers are named in the precept; yet there must be twelve or more." Lord

Coke, who also gives an account of the form of trial on such occasions.

" May

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" May it please your grace, and my lords,

I Have already, from a due sense of my folly, and the heinousness of those crimes with which I stand charged, confessed myself guilty, and obnoxious to those punishments which the laws of the land have wisely provided for offences of so deep a dye: nor would I have your lordships to suspect that what I have now to offer, is intended to extenuate those crimes, or palliate my offences: no; I mean only to address myself to your lordships merciful disposition, to excite so much compassion in your lordships breasts, as to prevail on his grace and this honorable house, to intercede with his majesty for his royal clemency.

" Though the situation I am now in, and the folly and rashness which have exposed me to this disgrace, cover me with confusion, when I reflect on the unsullied honor of my ancestors*; yet I cannot help mentioning their unshaken fidelity, and steady loyalty to the crown, as a proper subject to excite that compassion which I am

* William Boyd, earl of Kilmarnock and lord Boyd, took his title of earl from a royal burgh of that name in the shire of Cunningham. He was lineally descended from Allan lord high chancellor of Scotland in the year 1111; whose successor Robert lord Boyd of Kilmarnock was created regent of Scotland in 1466, during the minority of James III. who created his son Thomas Boyd earl of Arran, and gave him in marriage the lady Mary Stewart, eldest sister to the king: but that earl was obliged to quit the kingdom, and died at Antwerp in 1470; from which time the family remained in a pri-

vate station untill after the restoration of king Charles II. who created William the then surviving descendant, earl of Kilmarnock, on account of his remarkable activity in the interest of that monarch. William, his great grandson, was the fourth earl, and the present unhappy person concerned in the rebellion. He married lady Anne Livingston, daughter of James earl of Linlithgow and Callendar, who was the heiress of that house: but his lordship's excesses reduced his fortune so low, that he was obliged to apply to the ministry for a pension, which he obtained.

now soliciting. My father was an early and steady friend to the revolution, and was very active in promoting every measure that tended to settle and secure the protestant succession in these kingdoms: he not only in his public capacity promoted these events, but in his private supported them; and brought me up, and endeavored to instill into my early years, those revolution principles which had always been the rule of his actions.

“ It had been happy for me, my lords, that I had been always influenced by his precepts, and acted up to his example: yet, I believe, upon the strictest inquiry it will appear, that the whole tenor of my life, from my first entering into the world, to the unhappy minute in which I was seduced to join in this rebellion, has been agreeable to my duty and allegiance, and consistent with the strictest loyalty.

“ For the truth of this I need only appeal to the manner in which I have educated my children, the eldest * of whom has the honor to bear a commission under his majesty, and has always behaved like a gentleman; I brought him up in the true principles of the revolution, and an abhorrence of popery and arbitrary power; his behavior is known to many of this honorable house, and therefore I take the liberty to appeal to your lordships, if it is possible that my endeavors in his education would have been attended with such success, if I had not myself been sincere in those principles, and an enemy to those measures which have now involved me and my family in ruin. Had my mind at that time been tainted with dis-

* Lord-Boyd.

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loyalty and disaffection, I could not have dissembled so closely with my own family, but some tincture would have devolved to my children."

His lordship declared, "it was with the utmost abhorrence and detestation he had seen a letter from the French court, presuming to dictate to a British monarch the manner he should deal with his rebellious subjects: he was not so much in love with life, nor so void of a sense of honor, as to expect it upon such an intercession: he depended only on the merciful intercession of this honorable house, and the innate clemency of his sacred majesty.

"But, if all he had offered was not a sufficient motive to their lordships to induce them to employ their interest with his majesty for his royal clemency in his behalf, he should lay down his life with the utmost resignation; and his last moments should be employed in fervent prayers for the preservation of the illustrious house of Hanover, and the peace and prosperity of Great Britain."

The earl of Cromartie was then asked by the lord high steward, why judgment of death should not be passed upon him? Upon which his lordship delivered himself as follows to the court:

"My lords,

I have now the misfortune to appear before your lordships, guilty of an offence of such a nature as justly merits the highest indignation of his majesty, your lordships, and the public: and it was from a conviction of my guilt, that I did not presume to trouble your lordships with

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any defence. As I have committed treason, it is the last thing I would attempt to justify. My only plea shall be your lordships' compassion, my only refuge his majesty's clemency. Under this heavy load of affliction, I have still the satisfaction, my lords, of hoping that my past conduct before the breaking out of the rebellion, was irreproachable, as to my attachment to the present establishment both in church and state*; and in evidence of my affection to the government, upon the breaking out of the rebellion, I appeal to the then commander in chief of his majesty's forces at Inverness, and to the lord president of the court of sessions in Scotland, who I am sure will do justice to my conduct upon that occasion. But, my lords, notwithstanding my determined resolution in favor of the government, I was unhappily seduced from that loyalty, in an unguarded moment, by the arts of desperate and designing men. And it is notorious, my lords, that no sooner did I awake from that delusion, than I felt a remorse for my departure from my duty; but it was then too late.

"Nothing, my lords, remains but to throw myself, my life, and fortune upon your lordships' compassion; but of

* George Mac Kenzie, earl of Cromartie, viscount Tarbat, lord Mac Cleod and Castelhave, hereditary sheriff of the county of Cromartie, and baronet of Nova Scotia, was a branch of the Seaforth family, but the name of Mac Kenzie is one of the most antient among the clans in Scotland, and is derived from Kenneth, the son of Colin Fitzgerald, who was a younger son of the earl of Kildare in Ireland, from whence he came to Scotland to assist king Alexander III. against the

Norwegians and Danes in 1263. He obtained the barony of Kintail in the shire of Ross, which his descendants held until 1623, when they were created earls of Seaforth, which title was forfeited by the last earl for his appearance in the rebellion in 1715; but Roderic, the second brother of the first lord Kintail was ancestor to the present earl of Cromartie, whose principles were never suspected in the least towards jacobitism until this unhappy rebellion.

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these, my lords, as to myself is the least part of my sufferings. I have involved an affectionate wife, with an unborn infant*, as parties of my guilt, to share its penalties; I have involved my eldest son, whose infancy, and regard to his parents, hurried him down the stream of rebellion; I have involved also eight innocent children, who must feel their parent's punishment before they know his guilt. Let them, my lords, be pledges to his majesty; let them be pledges to your lordships; let them be pledges to my country for mercy; let the silent eloquence of their grief and tears; let the powerful language of innocent nature supply my want of eloquence and persuasion; let me enjoy mercy but no longer than I deserve it; and let me no longer enjoy life than I shall use it to deface the crime I have been guilty of. Whilst I thus intercede to his majesty, through the mediation of your lordships, for mercy, let my remorse for my guilt as a subject; let the sorrow of my heart as a husband; let the anguish of my mind as a father, speak the rest of my misery. As your lordships are men, feel as men, but may none of you ever suffer the smallest part of my anguish.

“ But if, after all, my lords, my safety shall be found inconsistent with that of the public, and nothing but my blood can atone for my unhappy crime; if the sacrifice of my life, my fortune and family, is judged indispensably necessary for stopping the loud demands of public justice; and if the bitter cup is not to pass from me; not mine, but thy will, o God! be done.”

* The countess of Cromartie was delivered of a daughter in the tower.

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Lord Balmerino pleaded in arrest of judgment, that his indictment was found in Surry; upon which the peers ordered his plea to be argued, and appointed Mr. Wilbraham and Mr. Forrester for his council.

The lord high steward and the peers assembled again in Westminster-hall, on the first of August, when the three unfortunate lords were brought to the bar, with the axe carried before them. The earls of Kilmarnock and Cromartie were separately asked, if they had any thing to propose why judgment should not be passed upon them; to which they answered in the negative. Then his grace informed lord Balmerino, that as he had started an objection, desired counsel, and had their assistance, he was now to make use of it, if he thought proper to argue that point: his lordship answered, "he was sorry for the trouble he had given his grace and the peers; that he would not have taken that step, if he had not been persuaded there was some ground for the objection; but that his counsel having satisfied him there was nothing in it that could tend to his service, he declined having his plea argued, submitted to the court, and relied upon his majesty's mercy.*"

His grace then made a speech to the prisoners, almost to the same effect as that pronounced by earl Cowper on the rebel lords in 1716: but as the present rebellion was opposed with more unanimity and zeal than the last, his

* Arthur Elphinston, lord Balmerino, was descended from a second son of lord Elphinston in the reign of king James I. who created him lord Balmerino. John the fourth lord of that name was his great grandson; he was made gene-

ral of the mint, and in 1713 was elected one of the sixteen peers. He married the daughter of Arthur Ross, archbishop of St. Andrew's; and had issue by her Arthur the present unfortunate lord.

grace took occasion to observe to their lordships, that "the beginnings of the rebellion were so weak and unpromising, as to be capable of seducing none but the most infected and willing minds to join in so desperate an enterprize: that it was impossible even for the party of the rebels to be so inconsiderate or vain as to imagine, that the body of this free people, blest in the enjoyment of all their rights both civil and religious under his majesty's protection; secure in the prospect of transmitting them safe to their posterity, under the protestant succession in his royal house would not rise up, as one man, to oppose and crush so flagitious, so destructive, and so unprovoked an attempt: that accordingly the rebels soon saw his majesty's faithful subjects, conscious both of their duty and interest, contending to out-do one another in demonstrations of their zeal and vigor in his service: that men of property, of all ranks and orders, crowded in, with liberal subscription of their own motion, beyond the examples of former times, and uncompelled by any laws." After recapitulating the dangers of such a rebellion to the state, and making some excellent observations on the nature of such a crime, his grace concludes thus: "It has been his majesty's justice to bring your lordships to a legal trial; and it has been his wisdom to shew, that, as a small part of his national forces was sufficient to subdue the rebel army in the field, so the ordinary course of his laws is strong enough to bring even their chiefs to justice." Then, after a short pause, his grace pronounced sentence upon the three lords, as follows: "that they must return to the prison of the tower, from whence they came; from whence they must be drawn to the place of execution; when

when they came there, they must be hanged by the neck, but not till they were dead; for they must be cut down alive; then their bowels must be taken out, and burnt before their faces; then their heads must be severed from their bodies, and their bodies divided each into four quarters, and these must be at the king's disposal *." His grace then broke his staff, which put an end to the commission, and the condemned lords were reconducted back to the tower.

The earl of Kilmarnock was in the forty second year of his age, and his deportment shewed him penitently sensible of the nature of his crime. His appearance on the scaffold, dressed in black, was noble and affecting: he behaved with such decency and composure, as excited a general pity from the spectators; and, a few moments before his death†, he avowed his former revolutionary principles, by concluding a short prayer for the preservation of his majesty king George and the royal family. Lord Balmerino was in his fifty-eight year, and appeared in his regimentals on the scaffold, where he discovered such surprizing resolution and intrepidity, as plainly demonstrated he acted upon principle‡.

* "This terrible sentence of the law was the same that is usually given against the meanest offenders in the like kind: but the most ignominious and painful parts of it were usually remitted by the grace of the crown, to persons of their quality." Lord Cowper's speech.

† The head was severed from the body at one blow.

‡ The executioner was intimidated, and could not finish his work in less than three blows.—The heads of the decollated lords were

not exposed to the spectators, and were put into their coffins with their bodies on the scaffold, from whence they were conveyed to St. Peter's church in the tower, and there deposited in the same grave with the late marquis of Tullibardine. Lord Balmerino left a lady behind him whom he called his Peggy; and to whom his majesty allowed a pension of 500*l.* a year. But Anne countess of Kilmarnock died on the 16th of September, 1747.

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Charles Ratcliffe, esquire, brother to the late unfortunate earl of Derwentwater, and who had assumed the title, was the next sacrifice to national justice. This gentleman was engaged in the former rebellion of 1715, for which he was convicted and sentenced to die; but he made his escape out of Newgate, and, after passing some years in France and Italy, married the countess of Newburgh, at Paris, by whom he left several children. He was taken in the Soleil, as he was going over from France to Scotland; and, on the twenty second of November, was arraigned on his former sentence in 1716, at the bar of the court of king's bench at Westminster-hall, where the identity of his person was proved to the satisfaction of the court, who made a rule for his execution, which was accordingly performed on the eighth of December, when this unhappy gentleman, in the fifty-third year of his age, was beheaded upon tower-hill, where he died a Roman catholic, and behaved with perfect composure and serenity of mind*.

Simon lord Fraser of Lovat, was the last public example that perished on the scaffold a victim to his offended king and country. The house of commons exhibited an

* He was dressed in a scarlet coat, faced with black velvet, and trimmed with gold; a gold laced waistcoat, and a white feather in his hat. He received three blows in his decapitation; after which, his remains were interred with those of the late earl of Derwentwater at St. Giles's in the fields. His son was taken prisoner with him, and confined in the tower, from whence he was released on his parole, on the twenty seventh of March. The Derwentwater estate was at first only confiscated to the crown for

the life of Mr. Charles Ratcliff, who was the youngest brother of James the late earl, executed in 1716; and they were sons of Sir Francis Ratcliffe, by the lady Mary Tudor, natural daughter to king Charles II. by Mrs. Mary Davis; but by a clause in a subsequent act of parliament, the issue of any person attainted of high treason, born and bred in any foreign dominions, and a Roman catholic, should forfeit his reversion of such estate, and the remainder should forever be fixed in the crown.

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impeachment against him, and appointed several managers * to carry on the prosecution ; upon which he was brought to trial, on the ninth of March, 1747, in Westminster-hall, where the lord chancellor again officiated as lord high steward. After a trial of six days, the prisoner was proved to have maintained a long and treasonable correspondence abroad, for fomenting the rebellion ; of obtaining a commission from the pretender, as general of the highlands, and a ducal patent by the title of duke of Frazer ; of countenancing and advising the principal persons in the rebellion ; furnishing them with arms and ammunition, and sending his son with his clan to their assistance. On the nineteenth, the speaker of the house of commons with his mace went to the bar of the house of lords, and in the name of all the commons of England demanded judgment against lord Lovat for high treason. Then the lords adjourned to Westminster-hall, and the prisoner being brought to the bar, was asked, if he had any thing to offer why judgment of death should not be pronounced against him ; to which he answered negatively. His grace then proceeded to judgment, and addressed himself to the unhappy lord at the bar in a pathetic speech, wherein he took occasion to deplore the remains of barbarism which had subsisted in the remoter parts of this civilized well-governed island, whereby the common people were kept in a state of the most servile bondage to certain of their fellow-subjects, who, con-

* Sir William Yonge, lord Coke, Mr. Lyttleton, Mr. Richard Grenville, Mr. attorney-general, Mr. solicitor-general, Mr. Philip Yoke, Mr. Noel, Sir

Richard Lloyd, Sir John Strange, lord Barrington, and Mr. Legge. His lordship had assigned him for counsel Mr. Ford, Mr. Starkie, Mr. Wilmot, and Mr. Forrester.

trary to all law, had erected themselves into petty-tyrants ; and in the present instance had been able to compel them into a rebellion against their lawful sovereign, under peril of fire and sword." After sentence was pronounced, the prisoner desired the lords to recommend him to his majesty's mercy : but he was beheaded, on the ninth of April, upon Tower-hill. He was in the eightieth year of his age, and met the stroke of justice with all the appearance of fortitude and unconcern *; but declared himself a papist.

His son, the master of Lovat, was pardoned ; and secretary Murray had a pension of two hundred pounds a year, granted him by the crown. The earls of Kellie and Traquaire, Sir Hector Mac Clean, Sir James Kinloch, and several others were discharged : but Sir James Steuart and some others died in confinement, and many of the rebels were transported to the American plantations. Thus this fatal rebellion was entirely suppressed, and every trace of it happily effaced, by the bravery and vigilance of the DUKE of CUMBERLAND†.

His majesty, on the twelfth of August, 1746, declared to both houses of parliament, that " he could not put an end to the session, without expressing an entire satisfaction in their proceedings. That the zeal and

* His head was taken off at one stroke, and his remains interred near those of the other lords in the tower. He married three wives ; the first was the lady-dowager Lovat ; the second a daughter of the laird of Grant, sister to Sir Lodovic Grant, Bart. by whom he had issue two sons and two daughters, one of whom married the laird of Cluney,

chief of the clan of Mac Phersons ; and his third wife was a near relation to the noble family of Argyre.

† In 1753, doctor Archibald Cameron, brother of Lochiel, was taken prisoner in Scotland, on his return home from France, and executed at Tyburn, on the 7th of June.

vigor which they had so unanimously shewn for the support of his government ; for suppressing the late rebellion ; and for bringing the guilty to justice, in which they had been so universally seconded by his good subjects, had not only fully answered his expectations, but gave him the best assurance, that they were determined to perfect this good work, by settling their tranquility at home upon solid foundations, and extinguishing the hopes of the pretender and his adherents."

On the twenty-fourth, a proclamation was published for observing a public thanksgiving, on the ninth of October, for the suppression of the rebellion : that proclamation was publicly read, on the seventeenth of September, by a herald at the south gate of the Royal Exchange ; and the thanksgiving was observed on the day appointed by a great resort to the public places of worship, extraordinary illuminations at night, and all other marks of joy, justly due upon so happy an event.

The kingdom of Ireland also expressed their zeal to his majesty on the same occasion ; and his excellency William earl of Harrington, in his speech to both houses of parliament, in Dublin, on the sixth of October, 1747, informed them, " That though so many months had passed since the total suppression of the late horrid rebellion, he could not think it too late to congratulate them upon it." The lords in their address to the king, " congratulated him upon the entire suppression of the rebellion, raised in favor of a popish pretender, and supported by a neighboring prince, the constant enemy of the liberties of Europe." And the commons of Ireland in their address to his majesty, told him, " That they saw with horror the pernicious effects of a blind zeal and popish

bigotry among several of his majesty's subjects in the late unnatural rebellion. That his majesty's wisdom and resolution in suppressing that horrid attempt, were not more conspicuous than his clemency in punishing the misguided abettors of it; thus gloriously exercising the greatest and most amiable qualities of an illustrious prince. Permit us, sir, said they, on this occasion, with hearts full of joy and gratitude, to return your majesty our most unfeigned thanks for our great deliverance, in which your majesty's son, his Royal Highness the DUKE of CUMBERLAND, had so great a share, and to whose courage and conduct these nations must be for ever indebted."

If it be difficult to find the time in history when the Scots marched without interruption as far as Derby in England; it will be equally difficult to find when they were defeated as far in Scotland as Inverness. That the highlanders, still benighted beneath the gloom of Gothic ignorance, biggoted to all the absurdities of superstition, and groaning under the oppression of their tyrannical chiefs, should be incited to favor the ambitious principles of their rebellious leaders, furnishes little matter of surprize. But the adherents of the pretender were now convinced that all their attempts to dethrone the house of Hanover were and must be vain and ineffectual; especially since the government has turned it's attention to the civilizing the unpolished highlanders, abolishing their slavish tenures, improving their lands, and introducing among them the benefit of commerce and the knowledge of property. It was necessary, in the first place, to prohibit the continuance of the highland dress, which was justly regarded as a badge of their ancient bondage, and therefore

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therefore, on the twelfth of August 1746, an act of parliament was passed, "For the more effectual disarming the highlands of Scotland, and for the more effectual securing the peace of the said highlands, and for restraining the use of the highland dress;" which by another act passed on the thirteenth of May, 1748, was ordered not to be worn after the twenty fifth of December following.

As the highlanders had been perpetually accustomed to pay an implicit obedience to their chiefs, it was also requisite to effect the abolition of their rigorous vassalage*, and accordingly, on the seventeenth of June, 1747, an act of parliament was passed, "For taking away and abolishing the heretable jurisdictions in Scotland, and making satisfaction to the proprietors; and for restoring such jurisdictions to the crown; and for making more effectual provision for the administration of justice throughout that part of the united kingdom by the king's court and judges there; and for rendering the union more complete." At the same time another act was passed, "For taking away the tenure of ward-holding in Scotland, and for converting the same into blanch and feu holdings, and for regulating the casualty of non-entry in certain cases; and for taking away the casualties of sin-

* Oliver Cromwell and his council, in 1654, passed an ordinance for uniting Scotland with England, whereby it was ordained that "all the people of Scotland, of what degree or condition soever, be discharged of all fealty, homage vassalage, and servitude due from them unto any their lords or superior claiming dominion or jurisdiction over them." However, upon the restoration of king Charles II. in 1660, the wards and liveries

were again restored in Scotland. See "An inquiry into the reasonableness and consequences of an union with Scotland," published in 1706, p. 48—53. Indeed, by an act of parliament made in the reign of king George I. no Scotch vassals were obliged to attend their principals in person; and even as to horfing, hunting, warding and watching, they were exempted on paying a guinea to their laird or chief.

gle and life rent escheats, incurred there by horning and denunciation for civil causes ; and for giving to heirs and successors there a summary process against superiors ; and for discharging the attendance of vassals at head courts there ; and for ascertaining the service of tenants there ; and for allowing heirs of tailzie there to sell lands to the crown for erecting buildings and making settlements in the highlands." Another act, was also passed the same day, " For vesting the forfeited estates of certain traitors in his majesty, and bringing into the exchequer the rents and profits thereof ; and giving relief to the lawful creditors and claimants thereon." And at the same time his majesty passed an act of grace, or general pardon, to all the persons concerned in the rebellion, excepting eighty eight* therein particularly excluded from the benefit of this act : his majesty, at the signing of it, declaring, " That after the examples of justice, which had been found necessary, he had with pleasure taken the very first opportunity of doing what was most agreeable to his own inclination, the passing of an act of grace : that the good effect he promised himself from hence was, to heal, in some measure, those wounds which had been made, and re-establish the quiet of the kingdom ; since, by this act, the generality of those who had been deluded from their duty, would find themselves restored to security, and

* The principal were the earls of Traquair, Kellie and Clencarty ; Sir James Stewart, Sir John Douglas, Sir James Harrington, Sir James Campbell, Sir William Dunbar, and Sir Alexander Bannerman, baronets ; Archibald Stewart, la'e provost of Edinburgh ; Patrick Grant of Glenmoriston ;

George Kelly ; Colin Mac Donald of Barrisdale ; Gregor Mac Gregor, John Mac Donald of Glengary ; Alexander Mac Donald of Glenco ; Alexander Robertson of Stronachan ; John Turner of Turner-hall ; Andrew Wauchop of Nidrie ; and Alexander White of Airdlehill.

to the protection of those laws which they had endeavored to subvert: hoping that a just sense of this early mercy, would induce them to make such returns of loyalty and gratitude as so strong an obligation required."

The bill for taking away the heretable jurisdictions was opposed in the house of lords, where it passed by a majority of seventy nine against sixteen: but a strong protest was entered by ten of the peers*, who were of opinion, "That this bill manifestly tended to constitute a new influence over all the counties of North Britain, by throwing a great and a dangerous power into the hands of ministers; especially when it was avowed that such an alteration of government might necessitate the introduction of a military force." However, this considerable change in the constitution of Scotland, was happily accomplished. The chiefs who were claimants for their jurisdictions, which consisted of regalities, justiciaries, sheriffalties, stewarties, bailliaries, office of forester, and water-bailey, coroners, or clerkships, were nine dukes, three marquisses, thirty eight earls, three viscounts, seven barons, fourteen baronets, and eighty two others, who valued their privileges at the sum of six hundred and two thousand, one hundred and twenty seven pounds, alledging that they had been exercised for the benefit of the country, and were of such great honor and consequence to their families that they should not voluntarily have parted with them under the sum demanded, which they hoped would be granted: but, as this calculation seemed to be extravagantly made, a reference was ordered to the

* Oxford and Mortimer, West-Denbigh, Litchfield, Stanhope, Moreland, Ferrers, Shaftesbury, Ward, Talbot, and Beaufort.
Lords

lords in session in Scotland, to ascertain the real value, who, on the twelfth of April, 1748, reported that the sum of one hundred and fifty two thousand two hundred and thirty seven pounds, might, in their opinion, be given for the purchase of those heretable privileges; which money was accepted and paid.

CHAP. IX.

Parliamentary and ministerial proceedings in 1745. Military and naval transactions. Foreign affairs. Death of the kings of SPAIN and DENMARK. Conference at BREDÁ. Battle of VAL. Siege of MAESTRICHT. Peace of AIX-LA-CHAPELLE.

HIS Britannic majesty opened the fifth session of parliament, on the seventeenth of October, 1745, the primary proceedings of which related only to the domestic affairs concerning the rebellion: but as the suppression of that commotion was speedily expected upon the arrival of the DUKE of CUMBERLAND, the parliament began to give their attention to the general state of Europe; and, on the fourteenth of January, 1746, the king went to the house of peers, where he delivered a speech from the throne, importing, "That the election of an emperor, which he had very zealously promoted, was an event of great importance, not only to the support of the house of Austria, but to the liberties of Europe in general. That he also exerted his utmost endeavors to

bring

bring about an accommodation between the empress, the king of Poland, and the king of Prussia ; and laid a proper foundation for it, by the convention made between him and the king of Prussia ; which great work being perfected, by the treaty concluded at Dresden, the interior tranquillity of Germany was then restored. That his next care had been applied to improve that accommodation to the best advantage, by procuring an immediate succor to be sent to Italy ; and such a strength for the defence and security of the united provinces as might preserve that republic from the destruction with which it was threatened ; as well as to attain a safe and honorable peace."

The supplies were retarded by a disagreement between his majesty and the ministry, which was occasioned by the latter endeavoring to introduce some persons, whom his majesty was unwilling to receive into his service. This was productive of a sudden confusion at court : the duke of Newcastle and the earl of Harrington resigned the seats of their respective offices of secretaries of state : Mr. Pelham resigned his place of chancellor and under-treasurer of the exchequer ; the earl of Pembroke surrendered the gold key of his office, as groom of the stole to his majesty ; George Grenville and Henry Legge, esquires, resigned their posts as lords of the admiralty ; and several other great officers both of the state and the army were expected to resign their employments. The right honorable John earl Granville was appointed secretary of state ; but the supplies being in suspense, and a general confusion likely to ensue, his lordship soon resigned the seals, which his majesty re-delivered to the duke of Newcastle and the earl of Harrington ; and Mr. Pelham and others were also reinstated. William Pitt, esquire, was appointed
joint

joint vice-treasurer of Ireland, with the earl of Cholmondeley : soon after the former gentleman was appointed pay-master-general of the forces, and also admitted a member of the privy-council : he was succeeded by Sir William Yonge, as joint vice-treasurer of Ireland; who was succeeded by Henry Fox, esquire, as secretary at war; Welbore Ellis, esquire, succeeded Mr. Fox as one of the lords of the treasury : the earl of Stair was made commander in chief of the forces in Scotland; and Sir John Ligonier was made commander in chief of all the British forces, and of those in British pay, in the Austrian Netherlands.

After this, the supplies were cheerfully granted, and amounted to seven million sixty three thousand two hundred and fifty one pounds, though the national debt was upwards of fifty six millions. The very men who had so strenuously rejected the continuance of the sixteen thousand Hanoverian forces in the British pay, were now not only as eager to retain them, but even augmented them with two thousand more. This carried a countenance of vigorously prosecuting the war; but such plausible measures were defeated by the unseasonable time of putting them into execution: for the queen of Hungary could never recruit her forces time enough to render them complete, unless favored with an early advance of their subsidies; which were retarded, and delayed the collecting of an army in the Netherlands, capable of opposing the French, who soon made themselves masters of the whole country.

Marshal Saxe defeated the allied generals at Roucoux, in October, and this action terminated the campaign on that

that side. But the French and Spaniards were unsuccessful in Italy, where they were obliged to abandon Piedmont and the Milanese: they were defeated by the Austrians at Codogno, and also at Rotto Fredo: after which, don Philip retired with his shattered army into Province; whither he was pursued by the Imperialists under count Brown; but though he was assisted by the British squadron commanded by vice-admiral Medley, the enterprize was abandoned, and marshal Belleisle obliged the Austrians to repass the Var.

After the successful expedition of cape Breton, the British ministry were concerting a project for the reduction of Quebec, and all the other colonies held by the French in America: but while this was only in deliberation at London, the ministry of Versailles made actual preparations for the recovery of cape Breton, in which attempt they were unfortunate. Besides, they were not only intent on defeating the expedition of commodore Barnet in the East-Indies; but had even put into execution a scheme for expelling the British company from their settlements on the coast of Coromandel, where the commodore de la Bourdonnai took Madras or fort St. George.

The British armament originally intended against Canada, was at last employed in an imprudent and unsuccessful attempt upon port L'Orient, where admiral Lestock and general Sinclair came off with great dishonor. The fleet, appointed for this expedition, continued so long at Portsmouth, that it's destination was publicly known before it attempted to sail. It consisted of sixteen ships of the line, eight frigates, and two bomb vessels, with thirty transports and store ships, having on board two battalions of the foot-guards, and a battalion of the
royal

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royal Scotch, with the regiments of Harrifon, Bragg, Frampton, Richbell, the highland regiment commanded by lord John Murray, and two hundred of the train of artillery : in all five thousand eight hundred men ; who, after feveral procrastinations, fet fail from Plymouth on the fourteenth of September. The troops were fafely landed, and nothing could have prevented them from taking Port L'Orient and Port Louis but the indifcretion of the commanding officers ; which was greatly cenfured and regretted by the DUKE of CUMBERLAND, who conceived that fuch an invafion would facilitate the meafures of the Austrian general in Provence, and probably deftroy Port L'Orient, by which the India company of France would be greatly impoverished : but his Royal Highnefs expreffed a deep concern, when he found that a whole fleet left the coaft of France, and returned to England, after expofing themfelves to the derifion of all Europe ; firft, by being afsembled for an attempt they did not make ; and then, for making fuch an attempt which was difhonorable to the Britifh arms. From whence the obfervation naturally occurred, that this expedition could be calculated only to make a long diverfion for a large body of French troops, and the total ruin of their India company. Such an expedition was univerfally allowed to be a good meafure, if it was only to divide the French forces while the invafion of Provence was attempted by general Brown : but its being undertaken at an unfeafonable time of the year, when the fea is dangerous through the whole bay of Bifcay, and without the neceffary artillery, was highly deferving of national difapprobation ; becaufe this expedition, as conducted, feemed rather
a fcheme

scheme to make all such attempts appear impracticable for the future, than either to distress the French, or procure any solid advantage to Great Britain : especially as it was acknowledged by the French, that their coast was exposed and almost indefensible, by which the English had an opportunity to give them a sensible blow. But the plundering of a few villages, and carrying off cattle, were far from being a national benefit : nor was the invasion of Provence at all facilitated by this insignificant enterprize which was not considerable enough to draw off a single regiment from the French army on the side of Lombardy.

Philip V. king of Spain, found the war in Italy almost insupportable, and the trade of his country destroyed ; so that the complaints of his subjects at home, and the loss of his American treasures, were sufficient inducements to make that monarch endeavor to repair his finances, and alleviate the misfortunes of his subjects, by any moderate pacification ; but his majesty died, on the ninth of July, 1746, in the sixty third year of his age, and forty-sixth of his reign, before any measures were concerted for so salutary an end. He was succeeded by Ferdinand VI. his eldest son by Maria Louisa Gabriella, sister to the present king of Sardinia. Ferdinand was in his thirty second year when he ascended the throne ; and was married to donna Maria Magdalena, infanta of Portugal, in 1729 ; but had no issue. He had always been esteemed as a friend to the British nation, because he was sensible of the advantages resulting from a commerce between that kingdom and his own. He not only manifested a disposition of resentment to the French, but actually made several overtures for terminating the differences with England.

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The death of his late catholic majesty was soon followed by that of his daughter, the dauphiness of France, who died in child-bed two days after her father, without any surviving issue; which gave the court of Versailles an opportunity of regaining their influence at the court of Dresden, by contracting a marriage between the dauphin and one of the electoral princesses.

Christiern VI. king of Denmark, also died about the same time, in the forty seventh year of his age, and the sixteenth of his reign. He was succeeded by his son Frederic V. who was in the twenty third year of his age, and had married the princess Louisa, the youngest sister of the DUKE of CUMBERLAND.

Though the pacific project, concerted by baron Boet. slaer, with the British ministry in 1744, was unsuccessfully negociated: however, in September, 1746, a conference was opened at Breda, the capital of Dutch Brabant, where the earl of Sandwich the British plenipotentiary of France, met count Wassenauer the Dutch minister and the count de Harrach, minister from the court of Vienna, each of whom were empowered to enter into a treaty for preventing the calamities of so ruinous a war. The first proposal was a cessation of hostilities; but the French minister would consent to no armistices, without the allies would accept of such conditions as should be dictated by the cabinet of Versailles. He had even instructions to admit of no mention in the preliminaries of the pretender or his descendants; nor in any general or particular treaty between France and Great Britain; because the French monarch would be entirely free and unconstrained in respect of the house of Stuart. Some other difficulties

difficulties were made and removed; but the French minister abruptly broke off the conferences.

Such was the situation of affairs on the eighteenth of November, when his Britannic majesty opened the sixth session of parliament with a speech from the throne, wherein he represented the obstruction to his pacific views at the conferences of Breda, and that he was concerting with his allies the proper measures for vigorously pursuing the war in another campaign. The addresses passed without opposition, the parliamentary contentions were inconsiderable, and those who had formerly signalized themselves in opposing were now introduced into the cabinet. The earl of Harrington resigned the seals, and was appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland in the room of the earl of Chesterfield, who succeeded the former as one of the principal secretaries of state: Mr. Trevor was recalled, and the earl of Sandwich was appointed plenipotentiary to the states-general; Sir Charles Hanbury Williams was appointed minister at the court of Berlin; and the earl of Lincoln was made cofferer of the household.

The national debt amounted to fifty nine million, three hundred and fifty six thousand, four hundred and ninety seven pounds; and the parliament granted nine millions, four hundred and twenty five thousand, two hundred and fifty four pounds, for the service of the year 1747. The supplies were answerable, and were to be appropriated towards the continuance of forty thousand seamen in the royal navy; thirty three thousand men in Great Britain, Guernsey and Jersey; fifteen thousand one hundred and ninety six troops in Flanders; eleven thousand five hundred and fifty marines; with subsidies to the queen of Hungary to maintain sixty thousand men in the Low

Countries ; for eighteen thousand Hanoverians, six thousand Hessians, and the other military expences ; as also twenty two thousand two hundred and sixty seven pounds to several officers and private men of two troops of horse-guards, and five regiments of horse lately reduced*.

The earl of Sandwich repaired to the Hague, to settle the contingences of the war in the most effectual manner. Accordingly a convention was entered into, by which Great Britain was to furnish forty thousand men, the states-general forty thousand men, and the empress queen sixty thousand men ; in all one hundred and forty thousand, exclusive of garrisons ; and her imperial majesty also agreed to keep ten thousand men in Luxemburg. The Dutch were now prompted to act with resolution ; and the DUKE of CUMBERLAND, on the thirtieth of November, set out for Holland to concert, with marshal Bathiani, the operations for the next campaign, in which his Royal Highness was to act as commander in chief.

As the war was to be more vigorously prosecuted under the command of the DUKE of CUMBERLAND, several military promotions were made in the British forces : Sir John Ligonier was made general of the horse : lord Tyrrawley was appointed colonel of Colombine's regiment, as the earl of Crawford was of lord Sempill's. Sir Robert Rich, the duke of Montague, and lord Molesworth, were appointed generals of horse : and the honorable

* His majesty gave directions for disbanding the third and fourth troops of life-guards, and reducing the regiments of horse to dragons ; which, by diminishing about 12,000l. in the charge of a regiment, would create an annual sav-

ing of about 70,000l. and furnish a more numerous body of troops : so that his majesty left only two of his household troops and one regiment of horse upon the establishment, which are still continued.

colonel Waldegrave and lord Howe were appointed aid-de-camps to the DUKE of CUMBERLAND.

Scotland was settled in tranquillity, and several regiments were ordered from the highlands to Flanders; as also were two battalions of the foot-guards; and the DUKE of CUMBERLAND was to have under him Sir John Ligonier, general of horse; lieutenant-general Hawley, and the earl of Albemarle; the major-generals Fuller, Huske, Howard, Bland and the earl of Craufurd; with the brigadiers Bligh, Price, Mordaunt, Houghton, and Douglas.

The DUKE of CUMBERLAND was highly honored at the Hague, where his presence animated the states-general, and it was agreed to take the field in the month of March. His Royal Highness returned to England on the second of January, 1747*; and after consulting the necessary measures for the military operations, he set out again from St. James's, on the first of February, for Harwich, to embark there for Holland, attended by lord viscount Bury, lord Cathcart, colonel Fitzwilliams, and several other officers of distinction. His Royal Highness took a view of Landguard fort, and then embarked on board the Fubbs yacht, under convoy of two men of war

* He was conveyed from Holland in one of the royal yachts by the Bridgewater, and put to sea with a fair wind at east; but by the ignorance of the Dutch pilots, who steered a wrong course, got among the shoals and banks off Dunkirk and Gravelin. The yacht was in 14 feet water; and captain Knowles in the man of war struck upon the Polder, eight miles from Gravelin, to the great surprize of the pilots, who expected to see the North fore-land light: so that had it blown hard,

or been hazy weather, the yacht might have been lost, or drove on shore. Upon his arrival at St. James's, his Royal Highness was presented with a book which was dedicated to him under the title of "A treatise of artillery; or, of the arms and machines used in war since the invention of gunpowder." This was a translation from M. le Blond; and a book of this kind, in English, was very properly inscribed to the DUKE.

and a sloop, who conducted him safely to Holland, where great rejoicings and festivities were made on his arrival; but his Royal Highness neglected nothing for seasonably getting in readiness an army sufficient to face the enemy.

The French monarch was greatly irritated at the invasion of Britany, and seemed to resent the execution of the rebellious chiefs in England. As a proof of this, he ordered all of that nation then resident in France, unprovided with passports, to be taken into custody; among whom were the earl of Morton and his retinue, who were sent to the Bastile, but were speedily released, by the interposition of the Dutch ambassador. Besides this, the French monarch invited the young pretender to Fontainebleau, when the latter related his adventures in Scotland, and received a present from the king of eight hundred thousand livres to reimburse the loss of his equipage; as also the yearly pension of six hundred thousand livres, and an apartment in the palace of St. Germain en Laye, where his adherents were to form the appearance of a court.

The French ministry promoted a defensive treaty between the courts of Stockholm and Berlin; and they secured the interest of his Polish majesty, by demanding his second daughter, the princess Anna Maria, in marriage for the dauphin; which was an alliance the more astonishing, as so much pains had been taken at Versailles to exclude the king of Poland from the throne enjoyed by his father; and as the mother of the dauphin was daughter to king Stanislaus.

The French king proposed to make the campaign in the Netherlands, at the head of one hundred and fifty thousand men; and sixty thousand were ordered to take
the

the field in Provence ; but these armies were greatly deficient. Marshal Saxe was appointed to act under his majesty in the Netherlands, with the title of marshal de camp general : which empowered him to command not only the marshals of France, but princes of the blood. The same honor had been enjoyed by marshal Turenne ; and in this marshal Saxe placed his greatest glory ; wishing to die like his predecessor, covered with honor in the field.

France was now in possession of all the Austrian Netherlands, from Dinant to Antwerp ; and it was evident that she intended to penetrate into the territories of the United Provinces : which made the confederates desirous of opening the campaign before the French. The DUKE of CUMBERLAND, on the fifth of February arrived at the Hague, where he concerted every thing, with his brother-in-law the prince of Orange and the allied generals for immediately taking the field, and the troops were put in motion during the severity of this month. They were drawn out of their cantonments, and assembled in Dutch Brabant, where they took the field in three different bodies towards the latter end of March. The DUKE of CUMBERLAND fixed his headquarters at the village of Tilberg, eleven miles south-east of Breda, with eight thousand English, eighteen thousand Hanoverians, and six thousand Hessians. The Dutch were assembled at Breda, under the prince of Waldeck. The Austrians, with four thousand Bavarians, were collected in the neighborhood of Venlo, under the command of marshal Bathiani. The whole army should have consisted of one hundred and forty thousand men ; but they were only one hundred and twenty six thousand men ; and notwithstanding this early appearance in the field, the

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confederates continued inactive for six weeks together, without attempting any thing: while marshal Saxe continued his troops in their cantonments, in the country between Bruges, Antwerp, and Brussels; for he knew that the confederates were ill provided with magazines.

Marshal Saxe got a large train of artillery provided at Ghent, to penetrate into Dutch Brabant, and carry the arms of France into the very heart of the United Provinces. He then assembled his grand army behind the Demer, between Antwerp and Mechlin, consisting of one hundred and forty thousand men: there was also a separate army of eighteen thousand men under count Clermont; the whole being one hundred and fifty eight thousand, if complete; but as there was a great deficiency they were not above one hundred and thirty six thousand in all.

Every thing being ready for putting the design against the Dutch territories into execution, marshal Saxe intrusted it to the direction of count Lowendahl and the marquis de Contades, who marched from Ghent on the sixteenth of April, at the head of twenty seven thousand men; while marshal Saxe covered Antwerp, and attended the motions of the confederates. The court of Versailles had prepared a declaration, ready to apologize for their invasion of the Dutch territories, and the abbe de Ville presented it, on the seventeenth, to the states, who were thereby informed, that "the French king had no design to come to a rupture with the republic; but only to prevent the dangerous effects of the protection which she gave to the troops of the queen of Hungary, and the king of England."

Count

Count Lowendahl was so alert, that he entered the western extremity of Dutch Brabant, while their High mightinesses were perusing the declaration presented by the French minister. The French general immediately invaded Sluys*, which surrendered on the nineteenth, when the garrison, consisting of eight hundred men, were made prisoners of war. Sas Van Ghent also readily submitted; though it was a strong place, and had a garrison of two thousand men. In the mean time, the marquis de Conrades made himself master of the forts of Perle and Liefkenshoek, with the town of Philippine.

There was no opposing the torrent, though the confederate army could hear the fire of the besiegers. Antwerp and the Scheld lay were between the allies and the invaders; nor could Breda and Bois-le-duc be exposed, while marshal Saxe lay ready to embrace the first opportunity of investing them. However, the confederates sent a detachment of three English battalions, under general Fuller, to the assistance of Hulst, which was the next place that count Lowendahl invested. The fort of Sandberg, which covered Hulst, was vigorously defended by the English, who were obliged to retire to Welsthoorden, and leave the French at leisure to undertake the siege. But the DUKE of CUMBERLAND, at the head of nine battalions, made an expeditious march to relieve the town, which was infamously surrendered before his arrival; though the Dutch governor knew the reinforcement would be there the same day he delivered up the town.

* A town, fortress and port, formerly of great consequence, but now in a declining condition, being situated 10 miles N. E. of Bruges,

and 24 N. W. of Ghent, lying opposite to the island of Cadfant, from which it is separated by a little arm of the sea called the Swin.

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The French then took possession of Axel and Terneuse; by which they extended their conquests to the mouth of the Scheld, and the narrow seas of Zealand. They afterwards got ready a number of flat-bottomed boats, for a descent on the islands of Zealand: but the states of that province, in conjunction with commodore Mitchell, who acted under the DUKE of CUMBERLAND's orders, to guard the Swin, made such preparations as frustrated the intended enterprize. Marshal Saxe then recalled the forces under count Lowendahl, and the separate army commanded by count Clermont, to join the grand army, for fear of an attack from the DUKE of CUMBERLAND, who had collected the confederate forces together; and was advanced between the two Nethe; extending the wings as the motions of the French gave occasion, to prevent them from laying siege either to Bergen-op-zoom on the right, or Maestricht on the left.

So unexpected a calamity occasioned every sign of the deepest consternation among the inhabitants of the united provinces; who expected to see such another declaration as was published by Lewis XIV. from his camp at Arnheim in 1672, when the French troops were in possession of three of the Dutch provinces. The Dutch now considered that their ancestors then recovered their freedom by electing a stadtholder; they were unanimous for pursuing the same measures, at this similar juncture; and it was accordingly done, on the second of May, when William Charles Henry Friso*, prince of Orange, was

* He was the only son of John William Friso, prince of Nassau Diets, by Maria Louisa, daughter

of Charles, landgrave of Hesse-Cassel. He was born on the 21st of August, 1711, and was married

appointed

appointed in the assembly of the states-general, stadtholder, captain-general, and admiral in chief of the united provinces*. Soon after the dignity of stadtholder was made perpetual in the prince of Orange, and his issue, whether male or female, by which he acquired more substantial honors than were conferred upon any of his illustrious progenitors; and this alteration in the government was productive of the most beneficial consequences to the republic and its allies.

When this revolution began to take effect, it was thought prudent to put nothing to the hazard till it was rendered complete, which occasioned the prince of Orange to send M. de Grovestein, his master of the horse, to the DUKE of CUMBERLAND, intreating him to confine his measures to the single view of covering Maestricht and Beigen op-zoom; until he had established his interest as stadtholder.

The French army continued quiet until the twenty-second of May, when their monarch made his arrival at Brussels; upon which the necessary dispositions were made to dislodge the confederates, and take Maestricht. The DUKE of CUMBERLAND vigilantly attended their motions, as they extended themselves in the county of Liege; which brought on a battle between the two armies.

The French were drawing so near to Maestricht, that count Clermont, with fourteen thousand men, had taken

on the 13th of March, 1734, to the princess Ann, the eldest sister of the DUKE of CUMBERLAND.

* The nature and dignity of this high office may be seen in p. 428 of the fourth volume of my history

of "The conduct of the several powers of Europe engaged in the late general war;" of which doctor Smollet has made a very free use, without mentioning his authority.

post at Tongres ; therefore it was resolved by the DUKE of CUMBERLAND, marshal Bathiani, and prince Waldeck, to take possession of the camp at Bilsen. On the twentieth of June, the confederates were put in motion, the English, Hanoverians and Hessians, on the left, inclining to Maestricht, the Dutch in the centre ; and the Imperialists on the right, extending to Bilsen. About four in the morning, the French cavalry were observed to be in motion ; and about six, their irregulars began to skirmish with the Austrian hussars and Lycanians : but the allies effectually secured the post at Bilsen. However the French found time to occupy the heights of Herderen, where they presented three lines of cavalry on the hill ; which made it necessary for the allies to alter the intended position of the left ; accordingly it was unanimously agreed to extend the left to Wirle, within a mile to the west of Maestricht, and about three miles from Herderen, the right still occupying Bilsen as in the former position. When the left wing of the confederate cavalry came up, it was formed in the plain below Herderen, to check the French from advancing, and give the British and Hanoverian infantry time to come up ; which was executed with great spirit under the direction of Sir John Magonier. Both armies cannonaded each other in the evening, and the best dispositions were made for a battle in the morning. The British forces lying upon their arms, though the Imperialists and Dutch encamped.

As soon as morning appeared, on the twenty first of June, marshal Saxe put his troops into motion for the attack. He advanced the best brigades, among which were the Irish troops that so bravely distinguished themselves at Fontenoy, towards the left wing of the confeder-

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rates, the most advanced part of which were posted at the village of Val, within a mile south of Wirle, consisting of the British regiments of Craufurd, Pulteney, and Dejean, with Freudman's Hanoverian battalion. The confederate generals diligently reconnoitred the French, who, about nine o'clock, were discovered by Sir John Ligonier, advancing towards Val. This experienced general sent lieutenant colonel Forbes with that intelligence to the DUKE of CUMBERLAND, who immediately repaired thither; while marshal Bathiani and the prince of Waldeck went to prepare their respective corps.

No sooner were the confederate batteries of the left wing all fixed for the reception of the enemy, than the French infantry appeared coming down into the plain, through a valley, formed in a vast column of ten battalions in front and seven deep*, bearing directly at the village of Val, being a small inclosure with five houses in it, where almost the whole action happened, which continued about five hours.

The British batteries continued firing the whole time the French were advancing, as well upon their infantry as the squadrons of horse that supported the right and left flanks of their columns; and these batteries brought a terrible execution among the French, who carried on their attack with amazing vigor and intrepidity.

The cannonading against the village of Val began at ten o'clock, with their field pieces; the second shot of

* We have been told, that "the enemy had twelve battalions in front, and were twelve deep; but the second line more extended than the third; and this more than the second, and so on successively to the last." It may be hard to find such

amazing accuracy among any kind of historians; but Henderson, like an Aristarchus, boldly declares it, let who will believe it; for proof of which see his work, p. 321.

which

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which killed baron Ziggesaer, the German aid-de-camp to the DUKE of CUMBERLAND ; and this was immediately followed by the first attack of their brigades, who advanced with great spirit, but were received with equal bravery.

The first brigades of the French were soon dispersed, with prodigious loss; as were their second, third and fourth divisions. Overpowered by this constant supply of fresh troops, the regiments in Val were obliged to give way : but being sustained by the regiments of Wolfe, Charles Howard, Conway, and the Hanoverians of Haufs*, they returned to the charge, and recovered their post. The French brigades of Navarre, La Marque, Monaco, and royal des vaisseaux, were entirely ruined ; the Irish brigade suffered extremely : however, they still kept pouring on lines of infantry, which were also repulsed : but as the French had fresh regiments immediately to succeed the weakened battalions, they again took possession of the village, where the British and Hanoverian battalions valiantly disputed the victory ; and, notwithstanding the great superiority of the French, entered the village several times ; so that a terrible scene of slaughter happened on this spot.

The instant that the French made their first general discharge of small arms at the village, the DUKE of CUMBERLAND ordered one of his aids-de camp to inform marshal Bathiani, " that the left was attacked ; that the French marshal appeared determined to make his whole effort upon Val ; and therefore his Royal Highness desired to be supported speedily and effectually." The mar-

* Mr. Henderson says " Hants;" did he think they were the Hampshire militia ?

shal returned for answer, " that he was doing his utmost for that purpose, having ordered away directly the five battalions that were with the corps of reserve ; as also part of the squadrons under count Daun * to join the left. The part of count Daun's detachment arrived time enough to enter the village, and perform great execution : but the five battalions arrived too late, as they were posted farther on the right. The British and Hanoverian troops behaved so well in the line, that, at noon, the DUKE of CUMBERLAND ordered the whole left wing to advance upon the French, whose infantry gave way so fast, that they were obliged to put cavalry behind them and on their flanks, to drive them on with their swords. The centre also began to advance under prince Waldeck ; but the Austrians were too slow in their motions. The French prepared to meet the confederates, and began to advance more infantry of their reserve ; when the five battalions of the confederate corps of reserve were overthrown by the misconduct of some Dutch squadrons in the centre, who perceived the infantry before them prest hard upon by the French, and giving way ; but the Dutch, instead of sustaining them, turned their backs, went on a full gallop to the right about, and, together with the French, bore down and trampled upon these battalions.

The DUKE of CUMBERLAND rode immediately to the head of the Dutch cavalry, and endeavored, with their major-general Cannenberg, to rally them, but in vain. The French squadrons had already entered with them, completed the confusion, and divided the confederates : while the DUKE of CUMBERLAND with difficulty re-

* Afterwards the famous marshal Daun, who defeated the king of Prussia at Hockinchen.

joined

joined his post, where six battalions were to join him from the right : but this unexpected cowardice of the Dutch so much disconcerted all precautions, that it was time to think of making good a retreat to Maestricht.

The British cavalry, however, and some squadrons of Imperialists, were spiritedly led on by Sir John Ligonier to charge the French cavalry, and favor the retreat; which was accomplished by that attack, wherein Sir John Ligonier had his horse killed, and was taken prisoner.

These efforts were in vain, while the confederate army was separated; therefore the DUKE of CUMBERLAND ordered the retreat about three in the afternoon, which was immediately put into execution, and excellently conducted.

In this battle the French had about twelve hundred horse and nine thousand foot, either killed or wounded : but the loss of the confederates did not exceed six thousand men. The principal officers killed among the English were lieutenant colonel Williams, and lieutenant colonel Ross; among the wounded were major general Bland, and lord Glasgow; and among the prisoners were Sir John Ligonier, colonel Conway, and lord Robert Sutton, lieutenant-colonel of the DUKE's regiment of dragoons.

The confederates passed the Maese into the duchy of Limberg, where they encamped; while the French continued in their former situation about Tongres, and their monarch took up his head-quarters at the castle of Hamal. Though the confederates lost the honor of the victory, they secured Maestricht: but Bergen-op-zoom was taken

taken after a long and bloody siege*, by count Lowendahl, who for this service was made a marshal of France, and marshal Saxe was appointed governor of the conquered Netherlands. The importance of this conquest secured the whole coast of the Scheld to the French, who also took Lillo, and some other forts; after which the French monarch returned to Versailles.

The confederate army being reinforced by four thousand additional Hanoverian troops, lately taken into British pay, quitted their camp by Maestricht, to observe the motions of marshal Saxe, and marched down towards the right of the Demer, where the French gave them some alarms; after which both armies retired into winter quarters. The French took up their cantonments in the conquered provinces: the English, Hanoverians and Dutch, in the neighborhood of Breda; and the Imperialists between the Maese and the Rhine: upon which the DUKE of CUMBERLAND returned to London, where he arrived on the thirteenth of November.

The French had not the same success in Italy, where the chevalier de Belleisle gloriously lost his life, at the head of his army in the attack of Exilles. Nor were they more fortunate in their naval expeditions; for one of their squadrons was defeated and taken on the third of May, by the admirals Anson and Warren; as also was another, on the fourteenth of October, by admiral Hawke.

Great Britain had nothing to fear at sea from the maritime force of France and Spain: but it was necessary

* The particulars of this important siege, which cost the French 20,000 men, may be seen in my

history of that war, vol. IV. p. 441—452.

to gain the assistance of a potent military ally to balance the operation at land. The court of Petersburg was already under the obligation of very close engagements both to the courts of London and Vienna; to the former by the treaty of 1742, and to the latter by that of 1746. As the czarina had probably an interest of her own to serve by enabling the maritime powers to continue the war, she was willing to put it in their power to prescribe a peace. A body of thirty thousand Russians had been long solicited for the assistance of the maritime powers in the Netherlands; but it was not brought to any decision till the seventh of November, 1747, when the earl of Hyndford concluded a treaty, by which it was provided, that, for the sum of one hundred thousand pounds, the czarina should hold thirty thousand men, and forty or fifty galleys, in readiness, to be employed for the service of the allies for three years, at three hundred thousand a year. This treaty was sufficiently alarming to the court of Versailles, and gave rise to the renewal of the pacific negotiations productive of the definitive treaty of Aix-la-chapelle; a treaty that distinguished the year forty eight of the present century, as those of Munster and Osnabrug did the same year of the last; with this material difference, that the negociators in 1648 did actually discuss and settle, upon solid principles, the interests and claims, religious and civil, of the several powers in the christian world: whereas the negotiation of 1748, appears to have been the consequence of few discussions, and could not be expected to stand for the basis of future treaties, through a whole century, as those of Westphalia had done.

France

France at last became desirous of such a peace as might accomplish her views in Italy, and procure some indemnification for her losses in Germany, as well as for her expences in the Netherlands: besides, she had other reasons for a peace, such as the ruined state of her commerce, navigation, and marine; the distress and danger of her colonies; and the wants and miseries which began to rage in her own bowels; all which induced her to renew the conferences which she had abruptly broke up at Breda. His most christian majesty himself in the very hour of victory, discovered a passionate inclination for peace to Sir John Ligonier, when brought before him as a prisoner after the battle of Val: and that general was soon after dismissed on his parole, to communicate certain formal propositions on that head, which were rejected. The French monarch, after the reduction of Bergen-op-zoom, ordered the abbé de la Ville to transmit to the Hague a declaration, importing, that the king had not altered his principles; and earnestly wished that the states-general would make use of their power and credit with their allies, only to inspire them with desires for a general reconciliation. France also repeated her pacific applications at the court of London, and another congress was agreed to be opened at Aix-la-chapelle, an imperial city in the duchy of Juliers, eighteen miles north-east of Liege, but the congress was not opened until the eleventh of March, 1748.

With these appearances of a speedy termination of all calamities arising from martial contention, his Britannic majesty assembled his new parliament on the tenth of November, when the commons again chose Mr. Onflow for their speaker; and on the twelfth, his majesty opened

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the first session with a speech from the throne, wherein he represented, " that some overtures for a general peace had lately been made to him on the part of France, and a congress was actually agreed to be held at Aix-la-chapelle, but that it was necessary to be vigilant and attentive to every event ; and that there would be no reason to expect a good peace, but by being timely prepared to carry on a vigorous and effectual war : he therefore relied on their hearty and powerful support, to enable him to prosecute the war, in case the obstinacy of his enemies, in not agreeing to just and reasonable terms of accommodation, should render it unavoidable ; for which purpose he was then actually concerting the necessary measures with his allies, whose interests he was determined to adhere to and support."

The address of both houses of parliament were unanimously passed, being expressive of the greatest loyalty and affection for his majesty, and a steady attachment to the liberties of Europe. The new parliament had been happily chosen to countenance the conduct of the duke of Newcastle and his brother, who were absolutely predominant in the cabinet, and found little opposition in parliament. Their rivals were no more considered at court, and the adoption of pacific measures, with a notable exertion of the military power abroad, were not likely to be discountenanced by the present parliament, where many of those who had seen the whole course of the ministerial transactions, and had been known advocates for the war, were not permitted to sit. The duke of Bedford had given his concurrence in promoting a pacification ; and the earl of Sandwich was not only to have the principal share in conducting the negociation, but the convention

convention of this year for settling the number of the confederate forces, was also entrusted to his management, in the same manner as the last. The earl of Chesterfield, however, deserted the coalition, by a voluntary resignation of the seals to his majesty, who appointed the duke of Bedford to succeed him as one of the principal secretaries of state.

The national debt amounted to sixty four millions five hundred and ninety three thousand seven hundred and ninety seven pounds; but the new parliament exceeded the liberality of the former by granting eight millions five hundred and seven thousand, nine hundred and thirty pounds, for the services of the year 1748, of which sum one million seven hundred and forty three thousand, three hundred and thirteen pounds, was for allies and auxiliaries*. On the twenty fifth of March 1748, an act was passed, "To prohibit insurance of the ships belonging to France, and on merchandizes or effects laden thereon, during the war:" and, as the preliminaries for a general peace had been adjusted, his majesty passed "An act for the relief of insolvent debtors." After which his majesty put an end to the session by acquainting his parliament, "That preliminaries for restoring a general peace had been signed between his minister, and those of the most christian king, and the states-general; the basis of which was a general restitution of conquests made during the war on all sides; that in consequence of these prelimi-

* Of which 400,000*l.* was for the queen of Hungary; 300,000*l.* for the king of Sardinia; 470,223*l.* for 22,000 Hanoverians; 167,881*l.* for the proportion of the subsidy for 30,000 Russians, and defraying their march to upper Silesia, with

150,000*l.* for their forage and provisions from thence until their return to Poland; 8620*l.* to the elector of Mentz; 26,846*l.* to the elector of Bavaria; 161,607*l.* for six thousand Hessians; and 57,792*l.* for four thousand Wolfenbüttele troops.

naries, which had been ratified by all the contracting parties, a cessation of hostilities had actually taken place in the Low Countries and in the channel; and certain periods were fixed according to former practice, for it's commencement in other parts of the world. And that as it was the earnest desire of his heart to see the crown of Great Britain, maintain that figure, strength, and weight in making war and peace, which justly belonged to it, it was equally so to see his good subjects enjoy the blessings of tranquillity and prosperity."

His majesty had made several military and naval promotions, whereby Sir John Ligonier was appointed lieutenant general of the ordnance in the room of marshal Wade deceased; and several vacancies to the commands of regiments were conferred on such persons who had distinguished themselves in the military service, particularly those recommended by the DUKE of CUMBERLAND who never conferred a command without a strict regard to merit. As the duke of Bedford was appointed secretary of state, the earl of Sandwich succeeded his grace as first lord of the admiralty. His majesty nominated the lords of the regency, and then set out for Holland to revisit his German dominions, where he continued until the conclusion of the definitive treaty of peace, which was not executed until the seventh of October.

According to the convention for furnishing the confederate troops for the campaign, which was executed on the twenty sixth of January, at the Hague, the allied army in Flanders for the year 1748, was to consist of one hundred and ninety two thousand effective men, to stop the progress of the French in the Netherlands, and to recover what was lost, if the means for obtaining a peace should be

be ineffectual ; of which the empress queen was to furnish sixty thousand, his Britannic majesty sixty six thousand, and the Dutch sixty six thousand, exclusive of garrisons ; and the force to be employed in Italy was to consist of sixty thousand Austrians, and thirty thousand Piedmontese, besides garrisons : the former were to take the field in the Netherlands, by the first of March, and the latter to begin the campaign in Italy on the first of May ; with an exception to ten thousand Austrians who were to come up in April ; and the thirty thousand Russian, who were to come up as soon as they could.

The French were absolute masters of all the Netherlands between the Maese and the German ocean, excepting Maestricht, the siege of which was disconcerted by the battle of Val ; but marshal Saxe was now making the necessary dispositions to carry it into execution ; and marshal Bathiani was obliged to quit his situation for protecting the place when the French appeared in the neighborhood of it.

Marshal Bathiani, so early as the thirty first of January, had sent a letter to the British ministry, in which he urged the absolute necessity of the immediate presence and influence of the DUKE OF CUMBERLAND at the Hague ; declaring that he could do nothing without him ; that the French were in great forwardness ; that the great point to be attended to was the security of Maestricht, which would effectually put a stop to the progress of the French ; that with a body of twenty five thousand men posted upon Mount St. Pierre, and another of forty five thousand men on the other side of the Maese, he would undertake to cover it at the peril of his head ; and pronounced that this could not be done, unless the DUKE

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of CUMBERLAND came over in person, to act in concert with the prince of Orange. Proper attention was not paid to this seasonable requisition; for the DUKE of CUMBERLAND did not set sail from Harwich till the twenty sixth of February; nor did the twenty five transport ships, with the additional troops from England set sail from the Nore until the eighth of March; nor were they followed until the eighteenth of April, by a draught of five hundred and twelve men from the foot-guards.

While the DUKE of CUMBERLAND was preparing the British forces for the field about Eyndoven, fifteen miles south of Bois-le-duc; the prince of Orange was assembling the Dutch at Breda, thirty miles north-west of Eyndoven: but the former had not above fifty thousand men; the latter had no more than thirty thousand; nor did the Austrians exceed the number of the Dutch; whereby the confederate army, instead of amounting to one hundred and ninety two thousand men, as by the convention it should have done, consisted only of one hundred and ten thousand; though the French were ready to take the field with a superior force.

General Chanclos threw twelve Austrian battalions into Maestricht, which if he had neglected to do, that town would have been surprized with only four battalions in garrison, and must have surrendered as soon as the French appeared before the gates. The Austrian troops then proceeded to Roermond, and encamped in that neighborhood, twenty five miles north of Maestricht, where they were soon after joined by the forces under the command of the DUKE of CUMBERLAND; while marshal Saxe, with one hundred and twenty thousand men, and a prodigious train of artillery, formed the investiture
of

of Maestricht* on the third of April in the evening. The French opened the trenches on the sixteenth, and formed three attacks against the place, which was vigorously defended by baron d'Aylva the governor. The French lost twelve thousand men before the place, yet were determined to take it: but the preliminary articles of peace prevented the rage of any farther hostility, and Maestricht instead of ennobling the conquests of Saxe and Lowendahl, was to be disposed of by the pacificators at Aix-la-chapelle. A messenger was sent to the DUKE of CUMBERLAND, who sent another to marshal Saxe, and the world was informed that this important place was to be given up to the French; though it could be only as a salvo to the honor of France, and to promote a good correspondence between the negociators. Accordingly the town was surrendered on the third of May, when the garrison marched out with all the honors of war; though it had been previously agreed that the French should restore it again with all the magazines and artillery.

As soon as the signature of the preliminaries was communicated to the commanders of the contending armies, a cessation of all hostilities ensued. Both armies retired behind cordons or imaginary lines; the cordon of the allies reaching from Steenberg across Brabant to Roermond; and the French cordon beginning at Bergen-op-zoom, and stretching along the great Nethe and the Demer to Reckem, and along the Gueule. The distance

* A strong and populous city, in the province of Brabant, belonging to the Dutch, situate on the west side of the river Maese, 13 miles N. of Liege, and 35 E. of

Louvain: it's ramparts are three miles in circumference; it contains about three thousand houses, and eighteen thousand inhabitants, exclusive of the garrison.

of these lines was from ten to twenty miles, beyond which no person was permitted to go without a passport.

The Russians, granted by the czarina for the assistance of the confederates, had been advancing, under the command of prince Repnin, since the beginning of the year from Livonia, and passed the frontiers of Lithuania on the thirteenth of February, in their march to Germany, where they were met by general Mordaunt and colonel Durand, who were appointed by the DUKE of CUMBERLAND to conduct them to the Netherlands. Though these forces were to be only thirty thousand in the field, they consisted of near forty thousand on their march, and were no less than thirty seven thousand, when they came into Moravia, where they were reviewed by their imperial majesties on the twentieth of May. The march of the Russians through the imperial territories was not obstructed, and they were quietly permitted to advance upon the borders of Franconia, after a march of seven hundred miles, where they were ordered to halt, on the menace of the French to demolish the fortifications of Maestricht and Bergen-op-zoom, if they advanced any farther. The matter was referred to the decision of the plenipotentiaries at the congress at Aix-la-chapelle; who, on the second of August, concluded a convention with respect to the Russian troops, whereby it was agreed, that the Russians should not march any farther towards the Low Countries, but return immediately towards Russia; and that the same number of French troops should be sent from the Low Countries into the interior parts of France. The substance of this convention was immediately put into execution; the thirty seven thousand French were drawn into Picardy; and the Russians retired
into

into Moravia and Bohemia, where they had winter quarters granted them. They not only underwent the mortification of being dictated to by the power they came to oppose, but to be disgraced by those they came to succor. On the abatement of the weather, they returned to Livonia, having lost their principal commander, and upwards of ten thousand men in such a laborious march.

The French and confederate armies continued quietly behind the respective cordons till the conclusion of the definitive treaty of peace, which was signed on the seventh of October, by the ambassadors extraordinary and ministers plenipotentiary of the high contracting powers: the earl of Sandwich and Sir Thomas Robinson for his Britannic majesty; the count de St. Severin, and M. de la Porthune Thuell, for his most christian majesty: don James Massones de Lima y Sota Major, for his most catholic majesty; count Caunitz Rittberg, for the empress queen; the chevalier d'Offorio, and count de Chavannes, for the king of Sardinia; count Bentinck, baron Wassen-aer, M. Hasselaer, baron Bosselles, and M. Van Haaren, for the states general; the count de Monzone for the duke of Modena; and the marquis of Doria for the republic of Genoa.

The treaty was comprised in twenty four articles. By the 1st, there was to be a christian, universal and perpetual peace, as well by sea as by land. II. A general oblivion. III. Former treaties confirmed. IV. Prisoners restored. V. Conquests restored. VI. And when. VII. The duchies of Parma, Placentia and Guastalla to be ceded to don Philip and his heirs male. VIII. Restitutions to be made. IX. Hostages to be sent from Great Britain to France, to reside there until the restitution of Cape

Bretton

Breton and other conquests in the East and West Indies.

X. Revenues of the restored countries how to be used.

XI. Archives and public papers to be restored. XII. The

king of Sardinia to enjoy the acquisition he made in 1743,

of the Vigevanasque, part of the Pavese, and the county

of Anghiera. XIII. The duke of Modena to be restored

to all his rights. XIV. The republic of Genoa the same.

XV. Italy to be in it's former state, excepting the disposi-

tions hereby made. XVI. The Assiento treaty confirmed.

XVII. Dunkirk to remain as before. XVIII. Divers

claims left for regulation. XIX. The Hanover succession

guarantied as in 1718. XX. Hanover comprized. XXI.

The pragmatic sanction renewed as in 1713. XXII.

and XXIII. Silesia and Glatz guarantied to the king

of Prussia. XXIV. Ratifications to be exchanged in a

month.

The ratifications of the definitive treaty were exchanged in conformity to the article for that purpose ; and in pursuance thereof the respective armies were withdrawn both in the Netherlands and in Italy. The DUKE of CUMBERLAND returned to England much dissatisfied with the terms of peace. The Hanoverian forces began their march homewards on the twenty fifth of October : the British troops were soon afterwards embarked for England : and the rest of the confederate troops took up their cantonments in the Netherlands, which the French forces began to evacuate at the same time. The conquered places were all restored ; and a war that had continued so many years, and which had extended through all parts of the world, with a great effusion of blood and expenditure of treasure, ended almost as it began, with-

out

out honor or advantage on any side, excepting those who were least concerned and had nothing to expect.

His Britannic majesty returned to his regal dominions on the twenty-second of November, and opened the second session of parliament on the twenty-ninth, when he acquainted both houses of the signature of the definitive treaty of peace, and declared, that "whatever the events of war might have been, the bravery of his troops had distinguished itself on every occasion, to their lasting honor: and the signal successes at sea must ever be remembered to the glory of the British fleet, and intitled it to the particular attention and support of the nation." His majesty "earnestly recommended to them the advancement of their commerce, and cultivating the arts of peace; assuring them, that nothing should be wanting on his part to make them a flourishing and happy people." Both houses congratulated his majesty on the restoration of peace, which was proclaimed at Paris on the first of February 1749, the next day at London, and about the same time at Vienna, Madrid, and the Hague; at all which places magnificent fire-works were played off on this occasion. Each seemed highly satisfied with the appearance of a general tranquillity: and, in pursuance of the XIXth article of the definitive treaty, the eldest son of the pretender to the British throne was obliged to quit the dominions of France.

As all the military operations were terminated by a general pacification, the contending powers began to reduce their forces. The British navy was reduced to seventy one ships of the line, and twenty nine frigates, besides sloops and tenders; for which ten thousand seamen were kept in pay. The disbanded forces in the British service
consisted

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consisted of the ten regiments of marines ; with the seven regiments of Bragg, Bruce, Pool, Battereau, Loudon, Shirley, the highland regiment ; the forty two additional companies, and one thousand two hundred and eighty-eight of the foot-guards ; being thirty three thousand foot ; which, with four thousand five hundred cavalry, made the whole reduction thirty seven thousand five hundred men : so that only eighteen thousand eight hundred men were continued on the British establishment ; eleven thousand eight hundred and fifty in Ireland ; four regiments at Gibralter, and four at Minorca.

Thus far we have accompanied the DUKE of CUMBERLAND in all his martial toils, from his first appearance in arms at Dettingen in 1743, to the conclusion of the war. We have attended his steps in the progress of military glory, seen him striving for victory in a most heroic manner at Fontenoy, beheld him triumphant at Culloden, and attempting to gain laurels at Val against the most experienced generals of the age, to whom even opposition was honor, and over whom conquest would have been next to immortality. Now let us shift the scene from the horrors of war to the pleasures of peace ; let us now behold the hero dignify the patriot, and the soldier ornament the man ; whether near the throne or in the senate, in the flowery meadow or the sylvan shade : let us see him retiring, like another Scipio, from military pomp and popular acclamation, to enjoy the blessings of social friendship and rural happiness.

CHAP.

C H A P. X.

State of the army in 1749 ; and parliamentary inquiry concerning it. Remarks upon the conduct of a prince : on SCIPIO and the DUKE of CUMBERLAND. The establishment of his Royal Highness's household. Constitutional queries publicly burnt. The PRINCE of WALES dies. The regency bill. Debate concerning the continuance of a CAPTAIN-GENERAL in the time of peace.

THE anniversary of the birth of the DUKE of CUMBERLAND was publicly celebrated, with great rejoicings, on the fifteenth of April 1749, when his Royal Highness entered into the twenty ninth year of his age. He retained the rank of captain-general of his majesty's forces, colonel of the first regiment of foot-guards, and of the fifteenth regiment of dragoons ; he was also ranger and keeper of Windsor great park, and one of the governors of the royal hospital at Greenwich.

About this time, an experiment was made at Windsor in firing some pieces of English and Saxon artillery, before his Royal Highness, the duke of Montague, the duke of Richmond, the earl of Sandwich, and several other persons of quality. It began with two twelve pounders, one English, the other Saxon, by firing at a target of about a foot diameter, at seven hundred yards distance. The English was first fired ; and after repeated trials it appeared, that the Saxon piece not only came nearer to the mark, but carried the balls further without grazing, and forced them deeper into the butt. In the experiment of quick firing, the English piece was twelve minutes in firing

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firing eighty six times; and the Saxon was discharged forty six times in five minutes: on which his Royal Highness ordered both the guns to be dismounted, and loaded with five pounds of powder each, which broke the Saxon gun; but the English gun stood the firing afterwards with six pounders.

The principal officers of his majesty's forces under his Royal Highness the DUKE, as captain-general, were as following: field marshal, lord viscount Cobham: generals of horse, Sir Phillip Honeywood, Algernon earl of Hertford, Sir Robert Rich, baronet, John duke of Montague. Richard viscount Molesworth, and Sir John Ligonier. Generals of foot; lord Mark Ker, Robert Dalzell, Gervais Parker, John earl of Dunmore, and William earl of Harrington: fifty one lieutenant-generals: nine major-generals: two brigadier-generals: seventy one colonels: one hundred and seventy three lieutenant-colonels; and one hundred and fifteen majors. The rank between them and his majesty's sea-officers had been unsettled, and had occasioned several disputes prejudicial to the public service until the year 1747, when his Royal Highness the DUKE prevailed on his majesty to settle their rank in council as follows:

LAND.	SEA.
Field-marshal,	Admiral and chief commander.
Generals of horse or foot,	Admirals with flags at the main top.
Lieutenant-generals,	Vice-admirals,
Major-generals,	Rear-admirals,
Brigadier-generals,	Commodores:
	Colonels

LAND

SEA.

Colonels,
Lieutenant-colonels,
Majors,
Captains,

Captains of three year's date
Younger captains,
Masters,
Lieutenants.

His majesty's land forces consisted of the two troops of horse-guards, and two troops of horse-grenadier guards; five regiments of light horse; three regiments of dragoon guards; and fifteen regiments of dragoons; three regiments of foot-guards, and fifty six regiments of foot; besides twenty five independant companies gone with admiral Boscawen in the East-Indies, and twenty five independant companies of invalids to do duty in the garrisons of Great Britain, four companies at New York, three at South Carolina, one at Providence, and one at Bermudas. The physicians to the army were the doctors Pringle, Wintringham, Clephane and Barker; David Middleton, Esq. surgeon-general; Mr. Adair, Mr. Lawman, Mr. Napier, and Mr. Mitchell, surgeons; and George Guernier, esquire, apothecary general; who were all under the patronage of the DUKE of CUMBERLAND; as were most of the general and field officers, out of whom the principal commanders were selected when his Royal Highness resigned his command.

The first regiment of foot-guards, of which his Royal Highness was colonel, was raised in 1660, and consisted of three battalions, two of nine companies each, and one of ten; the lieutenant-colonelcy was vacant, but the two majors were Alexander Drury and Samuel Gumley. The second, or Coldstream regiment, was commanded by the earl of Albemarle, whose lieutenant-colonel was

Edward

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Edward Braddock, esquire. And the third or Scotch regiment, was commanded by the earl of Dunmore, one of the sixteen peers, whose lieutenant-colonel was James Stuart; John Scott, first major; and John Waldegrave, second major. In the fifteenth regiment of dragoons commanded by the DUKE, the majors were Evelyn Chadwick and James Otway.

The conduct of his Royal Highness had excited many young gentlemen of the best families and fortunes to devote themselves to the profession of arms, and as many veteran officers were in the service, the army was in a brilliant cast, as will appear by the following concise and accurate account. The first troop of horse guards was commanded by John lord Delawar, lieutenant-general, whose first lieutenant-colonel was George lord Carpenter. The colonel of the second troop was lieutenant-general Charles lord Cadogan, whose first lieutenant-colonel was Thomas earl of Effingham. The first troop of horse grenadier guards had for it's colonel lieutenant-general Onslow; and the second troop was commanded by William lord viscount Peterfham, whose lieutenant-colonel was George Augustus Elliot. The first regiment of light horse had for it's colonel the general Algernoon earl of Hertford, only son of Charles Seymour duke of Somerset, the third was commanded by major-general Bligh, brother to the earl of Darnley; and the fifth by Sir John Ligonier, whose lieutenant-colonel was Daniel Webb, esquire. The first regiment of dragoon guards was commanded by Sir Philip Honeywood; the second by the duke of Montague; and the third by lieutenant-general Charles Howard. Lieutenant-general Hawley had the first regiment of dragoons; the second was com-
manded

manded by the earl of Craufurd, one of the sixteen peers for Scotland ; the third by lieutenant-general Bland ; the fourth by Sir Robert Rich ; the fifth by general lord viscount Moleworth ; the sixth by John earl of Rothes, one of the sixteen peers, whose lieutenant-colonel was Sir John Whiteford ; the seventh by Sir John Cope ; the tenth by field-marshal lord viscount Cobham ; the eleventh by lord Mark Kerr ; and the twelfth by major-general Mordaunt.

The first marching regiment of foot was commanded by lieutenant-general James St. Clair, whose first lieutenant-colonel was James Abercrombie, Esq. the second regiment by major-general Fowke, whose lieutenant-colonel was lord George Forbes ; the third by lieutenant-general Thomas Howard ; the fourth by major-general Barrel ; the sixth by lieutenant-general Guise ; the seventh by lieutenant-general Hargrave ; the eighth by lieutenant-general Wolfe, father of the great general who perished at Quebec ; the tenth by lord Tyrawley ; the thirteenth by lieutenant-general Pulteney, brother to the earl of Bath ; the sixteenth by lieutenant-general Handasyd, whose lieutenant-colonel was James earl of Lauderdale ; the eighteenth by colonel Folliot, whose lieutenant-colonel was Thomas Dunbar, esq. the nineteenth by lord George Beauclerk ; the twentieth by lord George Sackville ; the twenty-first by lieutenant-general John Campbell ; the twenty-third by lieutenant-general Huske ; the twenty-fourth by William earl of Ancram ; the twenty-fifth by the earl of Panmure ; the twenty-seventh by lieutenant-general Blakeney ; the thirty-first by lord Henry Beauclerk ; the thirty-fourth by major-general Chol-

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mondeley,

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mondeley, whose major was Robert Monckton, esquire; the forty third, highlanders, lord John Murray, brother to the duke of Athol, and member for the shire of Perth; the forty-fourth, colonel Kennedy, whose major was Sir William Boothby; the forty-fifth, colonel Lee, whose lieutenant-colonel was Sir Peter Halket; the forty-eighth, colonel Lascelles, whose major was John Severn, esquire; the forty-ninth, colonel Conway, brother to lord Conway; the fiftieth, Sir John Bruce, baronet; the fifty-fourth, highlanders, John earl of Loudon, one of the sixteen peers; and the fifty-sixth, Sir William Pepperell, whose major was Cadwallader Blaney, esquire. Mr. Pitt was paymaster-general, whose deputy was James Grenville, esquire; and the comptrollers of the accompts of the army were lord Ilchester, and Sir Philip Meadows. The commissary-general was Thomas Gore, esquire, member for the town of Bedford; whose deputy was Sir Anthony Westcombe, baronet. At the head of the civil branch of the ordnance was John duke of Montague, master-general; and Sir John Ligonier was lieutenant-general.

The DUKE of CUMBERLAND had established an hospital for the relief of infirm soldiers, the directors of which were Mr. Ranby, Mr. Cheselden, Mr. Garnier, and Mr. Graham: the physicians were doctor Pringle, doctor Barker, and doctor Armstrong: the surgeons were Mr. Ranby, Mr. Cheselden, and Mr. Andrews: there were also an apothecary, a chaplain, and a treasurer.

A parliamentary inquiry had been lately made into the state of the army, so far as related to the distribution of the money granted for the pay, the number of effective men, and the method of mustering and recruiting; when

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it appeared that the charge was greatly increased since the peace of Utrecht for the same number of forces. His Royal Highness the DUKE particularly attended to the nature of this inquiry, when it was remarked, that the full pay of a common foot-soldier in a marching regiment was eight pence a day, of which two pence was stopped for cloaths, and sixpence remained for his subsistence. As to cloathing the army, it appeared, that the foot and marines were cloathed annually, except waistcoats, which were made of the old coats of the preceding year; the horse and dragoons every two years; and the horse and grenadier guards every three years. His Royal Highness found that the cloathing fund arose from the stoppage of so much of the pay of the non-commission officers and private men as was above their subsistence, and was called off-reckonings, which were subject to the deduction of a shilling in the pound to the paymaster, and one day's pay of the whole regiment to Chelsea hospital, and of two-pence in the pound to the agent, and the remainder constituted the cloathing fund. The balance of the officers' pay, above their subsistence, and after the same deductions, was called clearings, out of which they cloathed themselves. The off-reckonings of a regiment of foot, amounted to two thousand one hundred and seventy three pounds, and the cloathing of such a regiment amounted to one thousand nine hundred and sixty two pounds, so that the balance was two hundred and eleven pounds, out of which balance the colonel found all sorts of cloathing and accoutrements lost by desertion, and other incidental charges, which were considerable in some years; however upwards of five hundred and seventy eight pounds had been saved by a colonel after cloathing his regiment.

Another advantage arising to colonels, was from the vacant pay of officers and men, and the sale of commissions: the colonel, indeed, could not properly sell any commission; but if the king accepted of his recommendation, then the colonel was understood to dispose of such commission; in which case an ensign's commission in an old regiment would sell for from three hundred to four hundred pound, though an ensign's commission in a new regiment might be sometimes had for two hundred and fifty pound; a cornet's commission was worth from nine hundred to two thousand pound; an adjutant or quarter-master's from three hundred to four hundred pounds; but in the horse-guards blue a quarter master's commission had been sold for five hundred pounds in time of peace, and eight hundred in time of war: however, few colonels had the disposal of above one commission in a year; and some not of above one in three years. But it appeared from the examination of the agent to the first regiment of foot-guards commanded by the DUKE of CUMBERLAND, that all the savings out of the cloathing fund of that regiment, were constantly bestowed in gratuities and benefactions to the regiment, and that his Royal Highness had never applied a shilling of them to his own particular use.

As to the number of effective men in several regiments, it was never expected that the regiments should be complete according to the establishment; the pay of one non-effective man in every troop of horse, besides the subsistence of two warrant men, being allowed in aid to the remounting fund: in the dragoons, three men were kept vacant in each troop for the same purpose, and in some regiments four: the regiments of foot of seventy men and three corporals in a company, were completed only

to sixty seven private men and three corporals, called rank and file men: in short, the men granted by parliament never were effectives, such a number of non-effectives as was thought necessary for remounting or recruiting, being allowed by warrant*.

As to the method of mustering, the commissary, or one of his deputies, usually saw the men out, and the companies often appeared to be sixty-six or sixty-eight when the complement was seventy; but the officers thought themselves as complete as they could afford, when a company consisted of sixty five men. In general, each troop of horse or dragoons consisted of two men less, and each company of foot of five men less, than the number upon the establishment. It was customary for the officers of every troop or company to give the deputy commissary who mustered them, a guinea for each muster, over and above their salary; but sometimes they would give no more than half a guinea; and this gratuity was wholly refused where the troops were complete.

As for recruiting, there was allotted for it upon the establishment twelve thousand seven hundred and two pounds, to which must be added the subsistence of the non-effective men, amounting by the year for each trooper thirty six pounds ten shillings; for each dragoon, twenty five pounds seventeen shillings; for each man in the foot-guards ten pounds, eight shillings and six pence;

* According to the returns in the three regiments of foot guards, it appeared that "in the first regiment the number of non commission officers and private men voted by parliament were 3080; and that the number of effectives by returns were, 2689, so that 391 were wanting according to the establishment,

In the second regiment the number voted were 1980, and the effectives were 1842, wanting 138: In the third regiment the number voted were 1980, the effectives 1630, wanting 350. Out of 43,676 men granted by parliament, the effectives were only 38,200,

and for each man in a marching regiment nine pounds two shillings and six pence*.

One of the perquisites from colonels arose from vacant pay, that is, the pay of such officers and men as happened to die or be killed, till they were either respited at the musters or filled up; which in the late wars was pretty considerable, as king William and the duke of Marlborough seldom filled up vacancies which happened in action till the beginning of the next campaign: but the DUKE of CUMBERLAND generally filled them up immediately, so that there seldom were any; or if there were, they went to the colonel.

Among all the curious disquisitions that have engaged the attention of philosophers, none has more perplexed them than the inquiry into the nature of the human soul, or how far the mind is actuated or directed by the frame or disposition of the body. However this may be, it is certain, that the calmness and serenity of the mind depend much upon a happy constituted frame of body, and such a habit of life, as may not contribute to alter that frame from it's natural institution. Thus from a regular construction of parts, and sobriety of living, springs that

* The regulation of the fund for officers' widows was as follows:

To a colonel's widow	_____	50 l. per ann.
Lieutenant-colonel's	_____	40
Major's	_____	30
Captain's	_____	26
Lieutenant's	_____	20
Cornet's	} _____	16
Ensign's		
Chaplain's		
Adjutant's		
Quarter-master's		
Surgeon's		

From all these annuities the paymaster of the widows' pensions, Edward St. Hill, esq; deducted a shilling in the pound for his salary.

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great blessing of life, called presence of mind, calculated to answer most of the great purposes of government, and to give a distinguished figure to the prince, the general, or the minister. The same quality of mind answers many useful and important purposes in private life ; which was evidently seen in the DUKE of CUMBERLAND.

There are certain finishing strokes to be given to all the works of art ; if not, we may see the excellency of a general design, and the beauty of some particular parts ; a judge of the art may see further, he may allow for what is wanting, and discern the full merit of a complete work in one that is imperfect : but vulgar eyes will not be so struck ; the work will appear to them defective and unfinished ; so that without knowing precisely what they dislike, they may admire, but will not be pleased. Thus in moral characters, though every part be virtuous and great, though the few and small defects in it be concealed, under the blaze of those shining qualities that compensate for them ; yet is not this enough even in private life ; it is less so in public life, and still less so in that of a prince. There is a certain species *liberalis*, more easily understood than explained, and felt than defined, that must be acquired and rendered habitual to him : a certain propriety of words and actions, that result from their conformity to nature and character, must always accompany him, and create an air and manner that run uniformly through the whole tenor of his conduct and behavior. This air and manner must be so far from any kind or degree of affectation, that they cannot be attained except by him who is void of all affectation.

A man of sense and virtue both, will not fall into any great impropriety of character, or indecency of conduct :

but he may slide or be surprized into small ones, from many reasons and different ways. Against these therefore, men who are incapable of falling into the others, must be still on their guard; and no men so much as princes. When their minds are filled and their hearts warmed with true notions of government, when they know their duty, and love the people, they will not fail, in the great parts they are to act, in the council, in the field, and in all the arduous affairs that belong to their royal office; at least they will not begin to fail by failing in them. But as they are men, susceptible of the same impressions, liable to the same errors, and exposed to the same passions; so they are likewise exposed to more and stronger temptations than others. Besides, the elevation in which they are placed, as it gives them great advantages, gives them great disadvantages too, that often countervail the former. Thus, for instance, a little merit in a prince is seen and felt by numbers; it is multiplied, as it were, and in proportion to this effect his reputation is raised by it: but then a little failing is seen and felt by numbers too; it is multiplied in the same manner, and his reputation sinks in the same proportion.

Decency and refinement of manners are so far from lessening the pleasures of life, that they refine them, and give them an higher taste: they are so far from restraining the free and easy commerce of social life, that they banish the bane of it, licentiousness of behavior. Ceremony is the barrier against the abuse of liberty in public: politeness and decency are so in private; and the prince who practises and exacts them, will amuse himself much better, and oblige those who have the honor to be in his intimacy, and to share his pleasures with him, much more than

than he could possibly do by the most absolute and unguarded familiarity. This decency, this grace, this propriety of manners to character, is so essential to princes in particular, that whenever it is neglected, their virtues lose a great degree of lustre, and their defects acquire much greater aggravation. Nay more, by neglecting this decency and this grace, and for want of a sufficient regard to appearances, even their virtues may betray them into failings, their failings into vices, and their vices into habits, unworthy of princes, and unworthy of men.

Even the reputation of the first Scipio Africanus was not so clear and uncontrouled in private as in public life : nor was he allowed by all to be a man of such severe virtue as he affected, and as that age required. Notwithstanding this, what authority did he not maintain ? In what esteem and veneration did he not live and die ? With what panegyrics has not the whole torrent of writers rolled down his reputation even to these days ? This could not have happened, if the vice imputed to him had shewn itself in any scandalous appearances, to eclipse the lustre of the general, the consul, or the citizen. The same reflexion may be extended to the elder Cato, who loved wine as well as Scipio loved women : but Cato's character, as well as that of Scipio, was subdued and kept under by his public character.

Scipio was not more conspicuous and admirable in his leaving, than defending his country. There was a necessity, that either liberty or Scipio should quit the city. " I will not, says he, derogate from the laws and constitutions of my country : let the laws and rights of Rome be open and free to all her citizens ; and then, o my country ! enjoy the benefit I have brought there, without

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without me : as I have given thee liberty, so will I be the example and proof of thy having it. If I am grown too great for thy safety, for thy service I depart from thee*."

In the height of his power, he went into a voluntary exile, and retired to Liternum. His villa was plain and neat, where he used the country exercises, and ploughed his land himself. In the same manner the DUKE of CUMBERLAND retired to his delightful villa near Windsor, where he displayed the generosity of a patriot prince, by employing the industrious poor in works of public utility.

At this time, the establishment of his Royal Highness was as follows: the right honorable Stephen Poyntz, esquire, comptroller; William Wyndham Ashe, esquire, chamberlain; Sir Everard Fawkener, knight, secretary; William earl of Ancram, George lord viscount Bury, and Charles lord Cathcart, lords of the bed-chamber: the honorable Felton Hervey, lieutenant-colonel Lamellioniere, and the honorable lieutenant-colonel Fitzwilliams, grooms of the bedchamber; the honorable John Boscawen, esquire, master of the horse: the honorable Bluet Wallop, esquire, and Dean Poyntz, equerries; master Howard, and Sir William Russel, baronet, pages of honor. There were also four pages of the back stairs, two pages of the presence, four table-keepers, a sempstress and a laundress, a clerk of the stables, four coachmen, three grooms, nine footmen, a game-keeper, a huntsman; a gentleman of the scullery, clerk, deputy, cook, and porter. The physician was doctor John Pringle; the surgeon John Andrews, esquire; the limner was Mr. Maurier; and the draughtsman Mr. Schurz.

○ A prince must pursue in arms those subjects who presume to take arms against him; but he will pursue them

* Seneca to Lucilius.

like rebellious children whom he seeks to reclaim, and not like irreconcilable enemies whom he endeavors to exterminate. So after the DUKE of CUMBERLAND had suppressed the rebellion in Scotland, he began to meditate how he should reclaim the deluded people; and he absolutely accomplished it, by first freeing them from their hereditary vassalage, and then raising several regiments of highlanders who signalized themselves as some of the best soldiers in the British army. His Royal Highness delighted in retirement, yet he was always thinking of something for the improvement of the army, and the advantage of the kingdom; but among all his patriotic intentions he felt the rage of party censure.

An able writer and an old jacobite, well experienced in the principles of party, asked this question upon that occasion, "What gives obstinacy without strength, and fullness without spirit to the Tories of this time?" And he answers the question in the following manner: "Another turn of imagination, or rather the same shewing itself in another form. A factious habit, and a factious notion, converted into a notion of policy and honor. They are taught to believe, that by clinging together they are a considerable weight, which may be thrown in to turn the scale in any great event; and that in the mean time to be a steady suffering party, is an honor they may flatter themselves with very justly. Thus they continue steady to engagements which most of them wish in their hearts they had never taken; and suffer for principles, in support of which not one of them would venture further than talking the treason that claret inspires."

In a weekly paper called the Remembrancer, of the eleventh of March 1749, the author undertook to shew
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in what instances the mutiny bill of late times had exceeded the bounds of those at first adopted by the legislature ; as also that the articles of war, framed on those laws, had exceeded the laws themselves ; “ which, in a manner, left the whole constitution at the mercy of the commander in chief.” The author* adds, that “ this is a specimen of the licence taken by our military legislators to enlarge their own system, by encroaching on the laws and the constitution.” In his letters of the first of April and the fifteenth, he lays before the public some papers relating to the conduct of brigadier-general Ingoldsby at the battle of Fontenoy, and says “ it was very remarkable, that at the battle of Fontenoy, the four regiments under the command of general Ingoldsby were distinguished for their bravery, while he, their gallant commander, was stigmatised and ruined, by an unjust accusation of disobedience of orders, in the fatality piece published in the Gazette May, 1745†.” Then having shewn how these orders were misrepresented in that gazette, and what the true orders were, he proceeds to rectify the whole by way of supplement to the case ; and observes, that “ upon the issue, the general was suspended by the court martial, during the DUKE’s pleasure, who approved the sentence, and suspended the brigadier for three months ;” but his suspension was still continued, without so much as the pretence of a second fault, or the form of a second trial.

These were considered as oblique attacks upon his Royal Highness the DUKE ; but in the Remembrancer of

* The first number was published the 12th of December 1747; and it was wrote by Mr. Ralph, under the title of George Cadwal-

ader, gent. which title implies its foundation.

† See this vol. p. 212—215.

May the twentieth, the shaft was more directly levelled in the following words quoted from Sir Walter Raleigh :
 “ That the king should never suffer any one of his nobility so to excel the rest in honor, power or wealth, as that he should resemble another king within the same kingdom, in like manner as the duke of Lancaster formerly did : it being extremely hard for the worthiest man to bear a super-eminence of rank, dignity, and fortune, with that evenness and decorum as becomes the duty and submission of a subject.” The author then begins to open upon the inordinate ambition of younger brothers, and observes that “ John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, a younger son of that great prince Edward III. became the favorite of his father, on the decline of his brother the prince of Wales ; was created duke of Lancaster almost in sovereignty ; was appointed commander in chief of the king’s forces in France ; had the negociations of peace wholly under his direction, though not wholly under his name ; and by the joint influence of so much power, and so much favor, formed such a party, as enabled him to bid for the succession, and to raise commotions in the state. That the parliament, justly alarmed at the supineness and indolence of the king, the ambition of the duke, and the dangers which threatened the offspring of the prince of Wales, set forth their grievances at full, and demanded, that the duke and his accomplices, as the causers of them, might be removed from court ; which was done accordingly. But then no sooner was the prince of Wales departed, than the king was induced to recal them again ; and the duke re-obtained such an ascendancy over him, that he procured all the powers of the kingdom to be invested in his hands. That the case
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of the young heir apparent in right of his deceased father the prince of Wales, now seemed to be desperate ; and desperate indeed it would have been, if it had not pleased divine providence to touch the heart of the king in his favor. For after having gone these lengths in gratifying his beloved son the duke, he, all at once, called for his grandson, created him earl of Chester and prince of Wales, gave him the precedency of his uncle, honored him with the garter, and in this manner secured to him the inheritance which he was afterwards deprived of by Henry duke of Lancaster and Hereford, the son of his uncle John of Gaunt : and in consequence of that breach of the succession, arose the fatal quarrel between the two branches of the same royal house, which, for so many years together, made a slaughter-house of the kingdom." He then mentions the two great favorites of queen Elizabeth, Robert earl of Leicester and Robert earl of Essex ; and more especially Robert Carr, earl of Somerset, the first favorite of king James, who had the insolence to put himself in opposition to Henry prince of Wales. He observes, that king Charles II. made such a provision in point of revenue, for his brother the duke of York, as rendered him independant of the crown : and takes notice of the unsizable greatness which the duke of Marlborough made a shift to attain ; as also on the project which was said to be in agitation to constitute him general for life, by authority of parliament. " Therefore, says he, if it is impolitic to suffer any one one of the nobility so to excel the rest in honor, power or wealth, as to resemble another king within the same kingdom, it will follow, that to vest a prince of the blood-royal with that excellency, would be impolitic in the superlative degree." He then

then draws an imaginary character of John of Gaunt, and transversely applies it to a modern character, though he shrewdly concludes, "we are not to suppose, that any such aspirer is now living." The Remembrancer of June the tenth, was upon the affair of standing armies in time of peace, and touched upon some nice points, both with regard to persons and things: but the author brought himself under the lash of power for some odious comparisons in his paper of November the eighteenth, which he endeavored to justify by the great freedoms that were formerly taken by the whigs with the duke of York, who, he said, stood as high as any prince of the blood royal ever did, not being heir apparent to the crown. He carried on the allusions in several of his subsequent papers, wherein he censured the mutiny-bill, and said, that "when Cæsar entered Rome in triumph, the Roman citizens durst lampoon him to his beard, without any dread of the martial laws he had established, or the discipline those laws had produced;" from whence he drew an ungracious inference in a visional parody.

All these inflammatory papers terminated in one of a more flagrant nature, which was a seditious paper entitled "Constitutional queries, earnestly recommended to the serious consideration of every true Briton;" directly levelled against the military character of the DUKE of CUMBERLAND, and his great influence over national affairs. This paper was sent by the penny-post to many people of rank in town, and left upon the table at several coffee-houses by persons unknown. The virulency of it attracted the public attention so much, that the duke of Marlborough, on the twenty-second of January, 1751, communicated this paper to the house of lords, and
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moved for resolutions against it, as also that the concurrence of the commons might be desired; which motions were agreed to, and both houses concurred in the following resolutions:

“Resolved,

1. By the lord's spiritual and temporal and commons in parliament assembled, that the printed paper intitled, “Constitutional queries,” is a false malicious, scandalous infamous and seditious libel; containing the most false, audacious and abominable calumnies and indignities upon his majesty, and the most presumptuous and wicked insinuations, that our laws, liberties, and properties, and the excellent constitution of this kingdom, are in danger under his majesty's legal, mild and gracious government; with intent to instill groundless suspicions and jealousies into the minds of his majesty's good subjects, and to alienate their affections from his majesty and his royal family.

2. That in abhorrence and detestation of such abominable and seditious practices, the said printed paper be burnt by the hands of the common hangman in the New-Palace Yard, Westminster, on Friday, January the twenty-fifth, at one of the clock in the afternoon, and that the sheriff of Middlesex do attend at the same time and place, and cause the same to be burnt there accordingly.”

After which, it was resolved in each house, “That an address should be presented to his majesty, to desire that he would give immediate orders, that the most effectual means should be taken for discovering the author, printers, and publishers of a false, malicious, wicked and seditious

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sedition libel, intituled, "Constitutional queries," and for bringing them to condign punishment."

* The paper was publicly burnt pursuant to the vote of both houses of parliament; and, on the fifth of February a proclamation was published for the discovery of the author, printers, and publishers, to be paid on conviction, as follows: for the author thereof one thousand pounds; for each of the printers two hundred pounds; and for each of the publishers fifty pounds. For the payment of which his majesty gave necessary orders to the lords commissioners of the treasury. But no person concerned was discovered; which shews how difficult it is to discover authors, printers, or publishers, when proper caution is used*.

A party had existed several years in support of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, who might justly be said to have been the joy and hope of the kingdom, the merchants' friend, the protector of arts and sciences, the patron of merit, the fine gentleman, and the accomplished prince; an affectionate husband, a tender parent, a kind master, and a good man: but this excellent and amiable prince departed this life at Leicester house, about ten at night, on the twentieth of March, 1751, to the unspeakable grief of the whole nation, universally regretted and deplored, as he was formed for the government of a free people in all respects worthy an illustrious prince. His Royal Highness was born on the twentieth of January 1707; and on the twenty ninth of April, 1736, married the princess Augusta of Saxe-Gotha, who, at this melancholy period, was far advanced in her pregnan-

* The author was then well known, and is now dead: but the printer is still living.

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cy, and by whom his Royal Highness left issue five sons and three daughters*." His Royal Highness was the eighteenth prince of Wales of the English blood-royal, and the only one, except Edward the black prince, who died in the life time of his father, and left a son to succeed him. A general mourning was strictly observed by all ranks of people; addreses of condolance were presented to the king by both houses of parliament; and the public writers paid a just compliment to the merit of the deceased prince, whose remains were interred in Henry the se-

* 1. The princess Augusta, born July 31, 1737; now hereditary princess of Brunswick. 2. Prince George, born May 24, 1738; who succeeded his royal father as heir apparent to the crown, which he now wears. 3. Prince Edward Augustus, born March 14, 1739, now duke of York. 4. Princess Elizabeth Caroline, born December 30, 1740; and died September 4, 1759. 5. Prince William Henry, born November 14, 1743; now duke of Gloucester. 6. Prince Henry Frederick, born October 27, 1745; now dead. 7. Princess Louisa Anne, born March 8, 1749. 8. Prince Frederic William, born May 13, 1750; and her royal highness, on the eleventh of July, 1751, was also delivered of the princess Caroline Matilda now the intended consort of the present king of Denmark.

* The Remembrancer said of the prince, "As the condescending sweetness of his manner and address enchanted all who had the honor to approach him; so that sweetness arose from a genial source of benevolence and philanthropy which seemed inexhaustible.—In our whole story, we find but one heir apparent, like him, hurried off in the meridian of his life, when all the hopes of the public centered in him, and who, like him also, was every way disposed

to graft the honor and happiness of himself and his posterity, upon the honor and happiness of his people. —A disconsolate widow; a group of helpless innocents; a circle of sympathizing friends; and every corresponding expletive of sorrow and dismay are not unfrequently seen in the house of mourning; but with such peculiar aggravations as in the awful case now before us, nowhere, perhaps, under heaven. His royal highness has left a numerous lovely offspring, which may serve as a mound between us and confusion. The prince, his eldest son, who inherits all his claims and all his virtues, is now the proper object of our concern, affections, wishes, prayers, vows, and endeavors. And in devoting our best services to him, we shall best discharge our duties to the memory of his dear departed father, and to the commonwealth." The author of the Westminster Journal likewise paid his tribute to the memory of the prince in an affecting essay, which he concluded thus: "That the life of his majesty, the most gracious of princes, may long continue, is the wish of every honest Briton: may it prevent the necessity of a regency, and the crown descend upon the head of a grandson of George II. in the full maturity of manhood." This the author of that paper, who is also

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venth's chapel on the thirteenth of April; the chief mourner was the duke of Somerset, whose supporters were the dukes of Rutland and Devonshire.

The anniversary of the birth of his Royal Highness the DUKE of CUMBERLAND was celebrated on the fifteenth when he entered into the thirty-first year of his age: but, this was a fatal year to the royal family, for the death of the prince of Wales was soon followed by others of the same illustrious house. William Charles Henry Friso, prince of Orange and Nassau, who had married the princess Ann, eldest daughter of his Britannic majesty, died on the eleventh of October, in the forty-first year of his age*. And, on the eighth of December, her majesty Louisa queen of Denmark, the youngest daughter of the king of Great Britain, died far advanced in her pregnancy. The DUKE of CUMBERLAND regretted their loss, and endeavored to alleviate the affliction which it occasioned among the royal family. Some other illustrious persons also died about the same time; particularly Frederic king of Sweden and landgrave of Hesse-Cassel. John king of Portugal died on the thirty-first of July. Marshal Saxe died at Chambord, on the thirtieth of December,

the author of this book, has lived to see happily accomplished.

* He left issue by the princess royal. 1. The princess Caroline, born Feb. 28, 1743. 2. Prince William, count de Buren, born March 8, 1748, who succeeded his father as stadtholder, &c.

† This excellent lady was born December 7, 1724, and was married to Frederic king of Denmark, Nov. 30, 1743: she left issue one prince, and three princesses. Christen, born January 29, 1748; he

is now king of Denmark, and contracted in marriage to the princess Carolina Matilda, niece to the DUKE of CUMBERLAND.

‡ As landgrave, he was succeeded by his brother, prince William, who was born March 10, 1682, and married the princess Dorothy Wilhelmina of Saxe-Weitz, by whom he had issue prince Frederic, born Aug. 2, 1720, who, in 1740, married the princess Mary, the fourth daughter of his Britannic majesty.

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1750, aged fifty four years, and fifteen days*. And, on the thirtieth of April 1761, veldt-marshal count Lacey died at Riga, in the eighty-fifth year of his age. His grace Charles Beaucierk, duke of St. Alban's, governor of Windsor castle, master-falconer of England, and knight of the most noble order of the garter, died on the twenty-seventh of July. Henry St. John, the well-known lord viscount Bolingbroke, died at Battersea, on the fifteenth of December, in the seventy-ninth year of his age: Francis Scott, duke of Buccleugh, the earl of Orford, the earl of Shaftesbury, and Charles lord Baltimore, cofferer to the late prince, and one of the lords of his bed chamber, died in April.

Prince George was created prince of Wales and earl of Chester; and the earl of Harcourt was appointed his governor: but as the prince was only about thirteen years of age, his majesty, on the twenty sixth of April, sent a message to both houses of parliament, signifying his royal inclination, that "in case of a minority, her royal highness the princess of Wales should be appointed sole regent, assisted by a council, till the young prince should obtain the age of eighteen." Both houses jointly addressed his majesty upon the occasion, and the address was presented with the following circumstances: his majesty being seated in his chair of state under the canopy, in the great ball-room, with his royal highness the prince of Wales standing on his right hand, and the DUKE of CUMBERLAND on his left, the lord chancellor and the speaker of

* He was denied a burial in France, because he died a Lutheran; which occasioned the following lines:

"Saxe to that law submits his mortal frame,
Which treats alike the victor and the slave;
And while his glorious deeds might altars claim,
The mighty hero wants a decent grave."

the house of commons, attended by several members of both houses, presented it to his majesty, each of them having hold of it, and it was read by the lord chancellor. Accordingly, on the twenty second of May, his majesty went to the house of peers, and gave the royal assent to a bill "for providing for the administration of the government, in case it should descend to any of the children of his late royal Highness the prince of Wales, under the age of eighteen years, and appointing a guardianship for their persons*. This was commonly called the regency bill, whereby the council were appointed to assist her royal highness the princess of Wales as regent of the kingdom, in case his majesty's demise should happen before the prince of Wales was eighteen years of age; and the members of the council were as following: his royal highness the DUKE of CUMBERLAND; the archbishop of Canterbury; the lord chancellor; the lord high treasurer of Great Britain, or the first lord commissioner of the treasury; the president of the council; the lord privy seal; the lord high-admiral of Great Britain, or first commissioner of the admiralty: the two principal secretaries of state; and the lord chief justice of the king's bench†.

The duke of Newcastle presented this bill to the house of Lords on the seventh of May, it was passed on the thirteenth, and sent to the commons, among whom a long debate ensued, whether any council of regency should be appointed or no; in which debate the principal speakers for it were Mr. Charles York, Mr. William Pitt, member for Seaford, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Nugent; those against

* At the same time a bill was passed "for regulating the commencement of the year, and for correcting the calendar then in use"

† The birth day of the prince of

Wales was celebrated with great rejoicings on the 24th, when his royal highness entered into the fourteenth year of his age.

it being Mr. Speaker, Mr. Prowse, Mr. Fazakerly, lord Strange, lord Cobham, general Oglethorpe, and Mr. Thomas Pitt, member for Ockhampton.

Mr. Prowse observed, that “ by our constitution the whole executive power of the government is lodged in one single person, under certain limitations, which are now perfectly known, and by which the liberties and privileges of the people are secured. That this is our true constitution; this is what we never did depart from without involving ourselves in difficulties and misfortunes; and this is what we never ought to depart from without an evident necessity. That we are exposed to the danger of having sometimes an infant king, when we must necessarily lodge the executive power of our government in the hands of one single person; or we must circumscribe his power by saddling him with a council of regency. That the latter is always an incroachment upon, or rather a total alteration of our constitution; and experience has shewn, that it can hardly ever fail of producing factious disputes and violent animosities in the nation. That the regent must allow herself to be governed by him who happens to get the ascendancy in this council of regency, and it will be the same as if that person had been appointed sole protector with sovereign power, which may be as fatal to her and her children, as the sole protectorship of the duke of Gloucester was to the widow and children of Edward IV. That it was proper to recollect the surprizing success of the sole regency of the earl of Pembroke in the infancy of Henry III. and the many misfortunes brought upon the nation by the faction in the councils of regency, appointed during the minority of Richard II. Henry VI. and Edward VI.”

Mr.

Mr. Yorke said, the bill would be a precedent for all future ages; and contended for restraint and limitations upon the regency. Mr. Fazakerly replied, that there never was a council of regency appointed in this nation, that were not in a year or two endeavoring to cut the throats of one another; by which the nation was exposed to great animosities and perturbations within, and to great losses and indignities without: he was desirous the regent should have a council to give her good advice when she wanted it; but he was not for having a counsel to send her peremptory orders.

Mr. Speaker observed, That the royal power may be limited, but it cannot be divided; and that no attempt was ever made to divide it, but what was soon followed by confusion, which always ended in tyranny. "Are we not, said he, by this bill to set up ten or fourteen kings instead of one? for the regent I do not reckon in the number; because, I am sure, she must be a mere cypher. Can such a government subsist for any time? From experience we may foresee, that while it does subsist there will be nothing but contention, and that some one of these new created kings must soon usurp the whole power. Therefore he hoped this project of a council of regency would be laid aside, and that they would content themselves with laying the regent under a few limitations, particularly with regard to peace and war, or treaties with foreign States." But Mr. Attorney general declared, "he was for passing the bill into a law, without any material amendment or alteration."

Lord Strange asserted, "That in most of our past minorities, a council of regency was appointed; and it was then necessary, as often as an usurpation was to be ap-

prehended; because annual parliaments were not then usual or necessary: but as they are now absolutely necessary, a few new limitations upon the regent, or an annual regency may be sufficient, without a council of regency, even when there is the greatest danger of usurpation."

Mr. Murray, the solicitor general, said, "That the amiable character of the princess now to be appointed regent, might induce them to put her under less restraint; and the great character of the person now to be put at the head of the council of regency, might induce them to give him more power: but to put the regent under less restraints, or to give the head of the regency more power, might upon some future occasion be attended with the most pernicious consequence." And Sir John Barnard, "hoped the bill would either be rejected, or so amended as to give that gracious princess, who was named in it, not only the name, but the power of a regent."

The DUKE of CUMBERLAND was too feebly opposed, and the bill was carried into a law; while a new administration began to take place, and his majesty to visit the princess dowager. John earl of Granville was made president of the council; and the earl of Holderness was appointed one of the principal secretaries of state, in the room of the duke of Bedford, who resigned. The earl of Sandwich resigned his post as first lord commissioner of the admiralty, in which he was succeeded by lord Anson; and soon after lord Trentham resigned his place of one of the commissioners of the admiralty. The marquis of Hartington, eldest son of the duke of Devonshire, was called up by writ to the house of peers, by the title of viscount and baron Cavendish of Hardwycke; and was also made

made master of the horse to his majesty; to whom the earl of Albemarle was made groom of the stole. The marquis of Rockingham was made lord-lieutenant of the west-riding, and custos rotulorum of the north and west ridings of Yorkshire. Sir John Cust, baronet, was made steward to the princess dowager of Wales, and Robert Henley esquire, was appointed her solicitor general. The princess Amelia was made ranger of Richmond park; and the earl of Lincoln auditor of the exchequer, in the room of the earl of Orford deceased.

The DUKE of CUMBERLAND frequently visited the young prince of Wales, and on the fifth of August, their royal highnesses, with prince Edward, the earl of Albemarle, and several other persons of distinction, went in three barges to Woolwich, where they reviewed the royal regiment of artillery.

At this time, both France and Spain were repairing their marine and recruiting their armies. The French monarch also published an edict for erecting a military school at Paris, which was to be situated on the Seine, a little below the invalids; and as a fund for supporting this school, the duty on cards was to be doubled, and the revenues of all vacant benefices were to be applied to the purpose. The DUKE of CUMBERLAND reflected upon this occasion, that such an institution was necessary in England as well in France; because though we had a great many brave landmen in the kingdom, yet as the trade of a soldier was not their profession, it would be impossible to make them learn it or practise it, unless the military tenures were restored; which might be partly supplied by forming a military-academy, as a national seminary for young gentlemen who were inclined to the
profession

profession of arms. It was then said in parliament, by a noble lord, that he hoped there was not a gentleman, a yeoman, or a farmer in the kingdom, but what were as brave and as apt to learn the fighting business of a soldier, as the rebels were before the defeat at Culloden. "We have still, thank God! the same commander that was then at the head of our troops; and I am persuaded, he would shew the same courage and conduct at the head of a volunteer, which he then shewed at the head of a mercenary army." In fact, it was long thought that our keeping a great number of soldiers in pay, and neglecting the discipline of all the rest, would diminish, instead of increase our military power. A brave man may in two or three months be made a disciplined soldier; and by a little practice he may afterwards preserve his discipline, without interfering with any other employment.

A debate happened in the house of commons upon this question, "Whether the sum of sixteen thousand pounds should be granted for the pay of the general and staff officers for his majesty's land forces;" which was a direct attack upon the DUKE of CUMBERLAND. This debate was opened by the earl of Egmont, who observed, "That this branch of public expence, called the staff, consisted of two parts, which were in their nature very different; the one being a civil, the other a military establishment. That the civil establishment consisted of a provision for certain officers, who, though they had no concern with the army, were by their employments civil officers; which continued in time of peace, as well as war, and amounted to above ten thousand pounds a year: the other was a provision for a captain general, several inferior generals, aid-de-camps, and the like; which could be of
no

no use in time of peace ; and therefore, in such a time, the nation had not usually been burdened with the expence. That as to the civil part of the staff, he then made no objection to it ; but as to the military, he thought it unnecessary and dangerous. To have in time of peace a captain-general, with all the parade attending that high office, looked more like a military than a civil government, and might put an end to the constitution, by drawing in all the other parts of the government within the whirlpool of it's own power." After comparing the captain-general of the present time, with the lord high constable of old, he made some observations upon the extensive power which the captain-general had by his office ; but, adds his lordship, " Whatever I may have said about the danger of continuing the post of captain-general in time of peace, I hope it will not be understood that I mean to apply it to the present time : the character of the Royal Prince, now at the head of our army, secures us against every danger that can be apprehended : the precedent is that alone I find fault with ; which I think a most dangerous precedent," After his lordship had represented the danger of continuing the post of captain-general in time of peace, he considered the œconomy of it. " Even his article, says he, of captain-generalship is charged as high as possible by the ministers ; for the saving as to the pay of the captain-general, we do not owe to them, but to his royal highness, who scorns to put his country to such an expence, at a time when he can do so little service ; and after he has set such an example of generosity, I am surprized it is not followed by all the other gentlemen belonging to the staff. If his example should have its proper weight, the public would save at least six thousand pounds a year upon the military part of the staff ; and by
reducing

reducing the civil part to it's old establishment, three thousand pounds a year might be saved, which would be a saving of nine thousand pounds a year."

Mr. Pelham, the prime minister of the time, answered, "It was well known, that ever since we had an army, the captain-general who commanded in chief our armies in time of war, had his commission always continued to him in time of peace." This was instanced first in the duke of Ormond, and then of the duke of Marlborough. "Would it not then be a most glaring affront to break through this custom in the person of his Royal Highness who has done such signal services to his country? Would not this be a most ungrateful return for his having so often and so chearfully ventured his life in the cause of his country. It is true, the foreign campaigns were a little unfortunate; but that was not in the least owing to any failure in the DUKE, whose conduct and courage were acknowledged over all Europe; and both were upon a signal occasion manifested here at home. There was a time, when every one thought that none but his Royal Highness could save us. When the enemy was in possession of great part of this island, and despair sat brooding on every countenance, he flew to our assistance; and by his presence and example, restored to our troops their former courage, after their having been twice defeated by the rebels. In short, I may justly say, our sitting here is owing to him; and shall we make use of that privilege for putting a manifest affront upon him to whom we owe it? But it is not our gratitude alone that militates in favor of this resolution; our safety is likewise very intimately connected with it. Let us consider, that he must either have nothing at all to do with the army, or he must
act

act as captain-general: he cannot act in any other capacity; and while he acts as captain-general, he must have such officers under him as are suitable to his character.' He remarked, that "the post of captain-general, in time of peace, and within the kingdom, is rather a post of dignity than of power; for all commissions in the army, and general orders must signed by his majesty, and countersigned by the secretary at war, who is an officer quite independant of the general, and answerable to parliament for every thing he countersigns. As to oeconomy, the whole sum we could save by dismissing that great prince, to whom we owe so much, from having any thing to do with our army, would not amount to six thousand pounds a year; a poor sum, when put in balance with the gratitude of the nation, even supposing the whole could be saved."

Doctor Lee, member for Lestard in Cornwall*, replied that the captain-general's commission and instructions ought to be laid before the house.

Lord George Sackville said, that the motion gave him inexpressible concern. "This concern, said he, is greatly heightened, when I reflect on that false, malicious, wicked, and seditious libel, called "Constitutional queries," which were so artfully and industriously dispersed, and so deservedly met with the censure of both houses of parliament. Every gentleman within these walls was convinced, that there was not any ground for what was so wickedly insinuated by those queries; but what will not the people without doors imagine, when they find that insinuation enforced by the present motion? Had that seditious libel rested upon it's own single authority, it would have been considered only as an impotent attempt

* Brother to lord-chief justice Lee.

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in some factious person to spread false rumors among the vulgar, and so stir up a division in the illustrious family now upon the throne : but when the people find it followed by such a motion as this, which is, in effect, a motion to remove from the command of our army, a royal prince who has in that station done his country such eminent services, they may give some credit to the groundless suggestions in that libel.

Mr. Potter, member for St. Germans in Cornwall, answered, “ That a captain-general of any continuance, must be the chief favorite and prime minister of his sovereign ; in which station he would draw lines of circumvallation round the throne.” He also observed, that when the duke of Marlborough was captain-general, the article of the staff amounted to seven thousand pounds a year ; but how it was advanced to sixteen thousand pounds was really a mystery.”

However, the question for recommitting was carried in the negative by two hundred and five to eighty-eight ; so far was the majority in favor of the DUKE, the anniversary of whose birth was celebrated on the fifteenth of April 1752, when his Royal Highness entered into the thirty-second year of his age ; and from that time a reunion was happily established in the royal family.

CHAP.

C H A P. XI.

The DUKE of CUMBERLAND farther characterized.

The commencement of hostilities in North-America in 1754. War declared between Great Britain and France in 1756 : and the rise of the war in Germany. The DUKE of CUMBERLAND commands the army of observation in Westphalia : the battle of Hastenbeck : the retreat of his Royal Highness to Stade : the treaty of Closter-Severn in September 1757 ; and it's consequences : other military and naval transactions. The death of his Britannic majesty in October, 1760.

ON the fifth of December 1752, the earl of Harcourt resigned his employment as governor to his royal highness the prince of Wales and prince Edward ; and the bishop of Norwich resigned his place of preceptorship to their royal highnesses, in which he was succeeded by doctor John Thomas bishop of Peterborough.

The DUKE of CUMBERLAND had gained immortal honor by his heroic intrepidity ; and as the reward of valor, he had not only a large revenue settled on him for life, but was continued generalissimo of the forces. By this means he acquired great influence, and he restored strict military discipline, which he enforced by example. Nor was the warrior deficient in civil virtues ; he had all the magnificence of a prince, and delighted to employ the hand of labor : but his attention was invariably fixed upon the conduct of the French court, the general system of Europe, and particularly upon the views of those princes who compose the Germanic body, which required all the observations of a soldier and a statesman.

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The unwarrantable proceedings of the French in the West Indies and North America, since the conclusion of the treaty of Aix-la-chapelle, and the usurpations and encroachments made by them upon the territories of his Britannic majesty, and the settlements of his subjects in those parts, particularly in the province of Nova Scotia, had been so notorious and so frequent, that they could not but be looked upon as an evidence of a formed design and resolution in that court, to pursue invariably such measures as should most effectually promote their ambitious views, without any regard to the most solemn treaties and engagements. These unjustifiable measures were still carried on until the month of April 1745, when they broke out in open acts of hostility.

Mr. Pelham died about this time, and general Braddock was sent to oppose the French in North America. This officer was appointed to that command by the DUKE of CUMBERLAND, who honored him with particular instructions for that service: but the general miscarried, was defeated and slain. The war was continued there until 1755, when the British court ordered reprisals to be made upon the French at sea, while hostilities were committed on both sides in the East Indies both by land and sea. Mr. Fox was then minister; the French threatened England with an invasion; and German allies were brought over, to the disgrace of the kingdom, to afford it that protection which it could not want from such subsidiary and mercenary troops.

The French temporized until 1756, when they took Minorca: a naval engagement happened off that island between the British and French; and admiral Byng was shot for mis-conduct. Austria joined with France, and

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Prussia became the ally of Great Britain. The system of Europe was totally altered ; and, on the eighteenth of May, 1756, his Britannic majesty declared war against the French king, who soon after answered it by a formal declaration of war, wherein he asserted, that the king of England was the aggressor in the contests concerning the settlements in North America.

The Austrians, Imperialists, Saxons, French, Swedes, and Russians confederated against the king of Prussia. Great Britain was then in a very unhappy situation ; but affairs wore a better aspect when Mr. Pitt undertook the ministerial charge from Mr. Fox, who had ingratiated himself into the favor of the DUKE of CUMBERLAND.

His Prussian majesty dispossessed the king of Poland of his electoral dominions in Saxony, and invaded Bohemia, where he defeated marshal Brown.

Another revolution happened in the British ministry, when his grace William duke of Devonshire was appointed first lord of the treasury in the room of the duke of Newcastle ; Mr. Legge was made chancellor of the exchequer ; and the right honorable Richard earl Temple was made first lord of the admiralty, in the place of lord Anson : which formed a strong coalition, as Mr. Pitt was secretary of state, and due attention was paid to the motion of France, in Germany, where she prepared to invade Hanover in 1757.

The expediency of supporting Hanover, and assisting the king of Prussia, was thought necessary. The loss of Minorca drove Mr. Fox from the state ; and the necessity of affairs brought in Mr. Pitt, who still opposed this system of German connexions. That Hanover must be defended was reasonable ; because the French attacked

it for no other reason but the animosity they bore to his Britannic majesty.

The Hanoverian and Hessian troops were sent back from their insular protectorship to Germany, where they were styled an "Army of observation;" that is, they were to observe the motions of a French army twice their number, which were to invade Hanover. The DUKE of CUMBERLAND was appointed commander in chief of this army of observation. Not a man in England objected to his Royal Highness as an able and brave commander; but almost every one lamented, that he was to be sent on so weak and unserviceable a system: Mr. Pitt utterly condemned it as such; and all honest men concurred in that opinion. However, Mr. Pitt and his friends were dismissed, and the DUKE of CUMBERLAND set out for Germany, on the ninth of April, 1757.

His Britannic majesty, as elector of Hanover, published his motives for taking up arms in the empire; but the French monarch actually sent an army of eighty thousand men to pass the Rhine under the command of the marshal d'Estrees. The DUKE of CUMBERLAND assembled his head-quarters at Bielfeld, where he was at the head of forty thousand men, composed of Hanoverians, Hessians, and some other troops*: but his Royal Highness had not strength sufficient to act offensively against the advancing enemy; besides, he found himself obliged to conform to

* His army consisted of three Prussian regiments that retired from Wesel; six battalions and six squadrons posted at Bielfeld, under the command of lieutenant-general, baron de Sporcken; six battalions at Hervorden, under lieutenant-general de Block; six battalions and four squadrons between Hervorden

and Minden, under major-general Leebour; seven battalions and ten squadrons near Hameln, under lieutenant-general d'Oberg; and five battalions and four squadrons near Niemburg, under major-general Haufs: in all thirty seven battalions and thirty four squadrons.

the Hanoverian council assigned him for his conduct in the command.

His Royal Highness made the best dispositions to maintain his ground, by placing his camp between Bielsfeld and Hervorden, where the French endeavored to surround his small army, which obliged him to break up his camp, and retire beyond the Weser, with inconsiderable loss.

His Royal Highness had prepared a camp for the reception of his troops, in a most advantageous situation, having the Weser in front, and the right and left covered with morasses. Here the DUKE was determined to dispute the passage of the enemy; but in this he was opposed by the weight of Hanoverian councils, whereby the best disposition that the ablest general could devise, was made to serve no other purpose than for the troops to lie upon their arms, and witness the uninterrupted passage of a pursuing enemy. Forbearance and non-resistance were the maxims of the Hanoverian chancery, against the judgment and inclination of the commander in chief. They relied upon the pacific capitulations of the golden bull, in preference to the vigorous measures provided by his Royal Highness for defence.

Marshal d'Etrees and the princes of the blood, assisted by the generals Broglie, Chevert, and d'Armentieres, passed the Weser, on the eleventh of July, without opposition. The DUKE of CUMBERLAND detached twelve thousand men to seize the important pass of Stadt Oldendorf; but the French had already taken possession of it, and transferred their camp to the fine plain in that neighborhood. These were only preludes to the main design of the French; which was to force the allies to an engagement.

gement, while heavy contributions were exacted by some of their detachments even to the gates of Hanover.

It was therefore resolved by the allies to make a stand at Hastenbeck, within a few miles of Hamelen, where it was thought the situation of the ground would deprive the enemy of that advantage they so much depended upon from the superiority of their numbers. The DUKE of CUMBERLAND drew up his little army on the height between the Weser and the woods, with his right towards the river, and his left close to the woods; on the point of which he erected a battery, supported by the hunters and two battalions of grenadiers, posted in the corner of the wood, upon the left of the battery, under the command of major-general Schulemburg, with the village of Hastenbeck in his front. There was a hollow way from the left of the village to the battery, and a continual morass on the other side of Hastenbeck to his right. In the evening of the twenty-fourth of July 1757, his Royal Highness called in all his out-posts, and kept his troops upon their arms all night. The next morning, the enemy advanced in columns, and made an appearance to attack the right, the left and the centre; but nothing more was done than a severe cannonade, which continued all day, from a train much superior to the DUKE's artillery. The next night was also spent by the allies upon their arms. The battery at the wood was repaired, and count Schulemburg was reinforced by a battalion of grenadiers: his Royal Highness, at the said time, ordered four more battalions of grenadiers, under major-general Hardenberg, to support that battery: and he also caused another battery to be erected behind Hastenbeck. As every thing was provided to give the enemy a warm reception, his Royal Highness got on horseback at day-light

to reconnoitre their position. At five, the French renewed the cannonade, which was levelled particularly against an Hanoverian battery, supported by the Hessian infantry and cavalry; the artillery was served on this attack with great fury and skill; and the place was defended with extraordinary bravery. Between seven and eight, the French musketry began to play upon the Hanoverian left; and the cannonading continued without intermission for six hours, when his Royal Highness ordered major-general Bekr, with three battalions of Brunswick to sustain the grenadiers in the wood. The fire of the small arms increasing, the DUKE ordered three Hanoverian battalions and six squadrons round the wood by Afferde, where they repulsed several squadrons of the enemy; but the grenadiers in the wood quitted their post to join the left wing; by which misconduct the French took possession of the battery. This afforded an opportunity for the hereditary prince of Brunswick, at the head of a battalion of Wolfenbuttle guards and another of Hanoverians, highly to distinguish himself, by retaking their battery, with their bayonets fixed, from a much superior force. The French had now got possession not only of the woods, but of an eminence that flanked both the lines of infantry and the battery of the allies, and were also to support their attack under cover of a hill. In this situation of affairs, the DUKE of CUMBERLAND found it was necessary to make a retreat, because it was impossible to dislodge the enemy, who were so far superior both in numbers and artillery. The retreat was ordered, and the troops were drawn off in excellent order to Hamelen. This action may be said to have continued three days, and was disputed with great bravery and experience on both sides. The allies had three hundred and twenty

seven men killed, and one thousand one hundred and twenty seven wounded or missing: but the French lost upwards of two thousand men by their own accounts*.

The DUKE of CUMBERLAND was prevailed upon to continue his retreat to Stade, where the archives of Hanover and the most valuable effects were deposited. Marshal d'Etrees was superseded in the command of the French army in Lower Saxony by the marshal duke de Richlieu, who sent the duke de Chevreuse, with two thousand men, to take possession of the city of Hanover; while M. de Contades was detached with another party to reduce the territories of Hesse Cassel; and a third party took possession of Bremen and Verden.

As the Hanoverian ministry insisted that Stade should be covered, the DUKE of CUMBERLAND retreated under the cannon of that place, which is a small town near the mouth of the Elbe, and one hundred and fifty miles from Hastenbeck. Here his Royal Highness was made to believe he should be able to maintain his ground between that river and the Aller, and be supported by four English men of war, then at anchor off that port, if the French ventured an attack.

In this expectation, his Royal Highness made his dispositions for defence: but the French followed him step by step, hemmed his troops in on every side in this little corner of land, and cut off his communication with the Elbe. Under this pressure of the most dangerous circumstances, not in a condition to fight, nor in a situation to retreat, and urged by the Hanoverian ministry to accept

* The very ingenious Andrew French, who likewise took about a thousand prisoners." See Henderson, p. 352.

of such terms of capitulation as would save their archives and protect their country, his Royal Highness was forced to accept of a mediation offered by the king of Denmark, and to sign a convention at Closter-Seven on the eighth of September, whereby "hostilities were to cease in twenty-four hours; the auxiliary troops of the army of the DUKE of CUMBERLAND were to be sent home:—his Royal Highness obliged himself to pass the Elbe with that part of his army which he should not be able to place in Stade; and the troops to be in garrison there, which it was supposed might amount to between four and six thousand men, should remain there under the guaranty of his Danish majesty; and commissaries were to agree upon the limits to be fixed round that place for the conveniency of the garrison, which limits were not to extend above half a league, or a league, according to the nature of the ground or circumstances: but his Royal Highness the DUKE reserved to himself the liberty of negotiating between the two courts for an extension of those quarters: and as to the French troops, they were to remain in the rest of the duchies of Bremen and Verden, until the definitive treaty of the two sovereigns." By the separate articles, the marshal duke de Richlieu declared, "the allied troops were not considered as prisoners of war; as also that fifteen battalions and six squadrons might pass the Elbe, and the remaining ten battalions and twenty eight squadrons should be placed in Stade, and the places nearest to it within the line, which should be marked by posts from the mouth of the Luke in the Elbe, to the mouth of the Elmerbeck in the Oste; nor were those ten battalions and twenty eight squadrons to be recruited or augmented in any case."

About this time, a naval expedition against Rochfort was undertaken, on which occasion, Sir John Ligonier made the following observation at a cabinet-council : " If I am rightly informed, the great point his majesty has in view, by this expedition, and the alarming the coasts of France, is the hopes of making a powerful diversion in favor of his Royal Highness the DUKE, as well as the king of Prussia, who desires and presses much this very measure." However, that attempt was unsuccessful, though Sir Edward Hawke commanded the fleet, as admiral in chief, assisted by vice-admiral Knowles and rear-admiral Broderick ; and the troops were commanded by Sir John Mordaunt as general and commander in chief, assisted by the right honorable major-general Cornwallis. In fact, the general returned to England, without making any attempt to land on the coast of France ! and some over-refined politicians pretended to discover, in the backwardness of this attempt, a tenderness for Hanover, and a connexion with the convention of Stade.

The king of Prussia wrote a letter to his Britannic majesty on the convention, wherein he says, " I repent not of my treaty with your majesty ; but do not shamefully abandon me to the mercy of my enemies, after having brought upon me all the powers of Europe."

The king of Great Britain, in answer to this letter, ordered a declaration to be communicated to all foreign ministers residing at the British court, on the sixteenth of September, wherein his majesty declared, that " the king of Prussia might assure himself that the British crown would continue to fulfil, with the greatest punctuality, it's engagements with his Prussian majesty, and to support him with firmness and vigor."

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The DUKE of CUMBERLAND returned to London, where he met with a cool reception from the king his father, whose Hanoverian ministers had brought disgrace upon his electoral arms, and ruin to the whole electorate. Marshal Richlieu paid no regard to the terms of the convention, in which he was encouraged by the French ministry, who changed the very form of government in Hanover, and plundered the whole country. The British nation became determined to support the Hanoverians, and the army of observation was re-assembled under the command of prince Ferdinand of Brunswic, to whom marshal Richlieu wrote, that if this army "committed any act of hostility, he should push matters to the last extremity; that he should set fire to all the palaces, royal houses, and gardens; he should sack all the towns and villages, without sparing the smallest cabin; in short, the whole country should feel the horrors of war." He justified his threats by his acts; but prince Ferdinand assembled the army of observation at Stade, and marched against the French, whom he obliged to evacuate Hanover and retire to Zell, where they entrenched themselves until the severity of the season obliged prince Ferdinand to take up his winter-quarters in Luxemburg, after which marshal Richlieu returned to Hanover, and confiscated all the effects of those who had taken up arms*.

His Britannic majesty, in a speech to his parliament, on the first of December, 1757, "in particular recommended it to them, that his good brother and ally the king of Prussia, might be supported in such a manner as his magnanimity and active zeal for the common cause deserved;" in which both houses of parliament cheerfully concurred; they granted his Prussian majesty six hundred
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and seventy thousand pounds, and also granted four hundred and sixty three thousand pounds for maintaining thirty-eight thousand hired troops in Germany, where a large body of British troops were sent, and the war was continued with great spirit and animosity.

The French observed on this occasion, that “ if the DUKE of CUMBERLAND asked to capitulate, it was because he found himself in a critical position, and justly feared that, should the marshal de Richlieu attack him, he would ruin the Hanoverian army irretrievably, and make himself master of the town of Stade, and of the depositum lodged there. Had not this situation been so dangerous in every respect, can it be supposed that a prince whose courage all Europe has beheld, would have asked to capitulate at the head of forty thousand men, under the cannon of the town, and in a post of difficult access and well intrenched? But this prince, whose capacity gave him to perceive, that no retreat remained for him in case he should be beaten, preferred the glory of saving the king his father’s troops, and those of his allies, to the vain honor of fighting the king’s army, without any grounded hope of success. The more of his self-love he had by this step sacrificed to the good of mankind, and the interest of the king his father, the more sacred and inviolable did the capitulation become to him. It is unquestionable in the rules of honor and war, that a capitulation is never to be asked of an enemy until at an extremity; but when reduced to it, it is not lawful to employ those arms against him, which by promise were to be laid down. Honor would look on such a procedure with indignation; and if private persons detest a treachery of this nature, is it not still more unworthy of sovereigns, who are the protectors
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of good faith, and who are more concerned than private persons to preserve their glory and reputation? Accordingly the DUKE of CUMBERLAND, by laying down his military employments, was for saving himself the infamy of breaking such sacred engagements; he has proved by that step, that he is incapable of being so far wanting to himself; but in sheltering his own honor, why has he not been afraid of exposing that of the king his father?*

Prince Ferdinand expelled the French from Hanover, and pursued them over the Rhine. The king of Prussia exerted an invincible spirit against all his numerous enemies. The French settlements in the West Indies submitted to the British arms, by the vigor of which Quebec was reduced, and all Canada conquered. Colonel Clive and admiral Pocock were victorious in the East-Indies; while the French navy was destroyed in Europe.

Admiral Boscawen defeated M. de Clue off Lagos; and on the twentieth of November, 1759, Sir Edward Hawke defeated M. de Conflans near Belleisle, for which signal service he received the thanks of parliament; the DUKE of CUMBERLAND appeared at court to congratulate his majesty on so glorious an event, which protected the kingdom from an invasion, and totally destroyed the maritime power of France.

Ferdinand VI. king of Spain, died on the tenth of August, 1759, in the forty-sixth year of his age, and was succeeded by his brother-in-law Charles III. king of the two Sicilies, who soon after formed the family-compact with France, whereby all the branches of the house of Bourbon made the quarrel of each the common cause of

* Manifesto published by authority at Paris, and dated at Versailles the 30th of December, 1757.

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all. The British nation was then victorious over the French in all parts of the world, but his Britannic majesty did not live to see all his endeavors crowned with a glorious peace. This great and illustrious monarch expired early in the morning on the twenty-fifth of October 1760, at Kensington: this fatal accident was occasioned by the bursting of the right ventricle of his heart. His majesty was seventy-six years of age; and was in the thirty-fourth year of his reign: he lived greatly beloved, and died universally lamented.

CH A P. XII.

The accession of king GEORGE III; his marriage: coronation in 1761. Ministerial transactions: Mr. PITT resigns. War between GREAT BRITAIN and SPAIN. The reduction of the HAVANNAH, and also of MANILA. Conduct of lord BUTE. Peace concluded at PARTS the tenth of February, 1763. Ministerial and parliamentary proceedings. Conduct of the DUKE of CUMBERLAND: his death; and his character.

GEORGE II. was succeeded by his grandson George III. who was then in the twenty-third year of his age, and was proclaimed king the day after his grandfather's death. The young monarch, on the eighth of September, 1761, married the princess Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, who was in the eighteenth year of her age. The DUKE of CUMBERLAND was present at the nuptials, when he gave the princess away to the king; and this marriage was followed by the coronation of their majesties on the twenty-second; soon afterwards Mr. Pitt

Pitt resigned the seals to the great surprize of all the nation, who had been highly pleased with his conduct during the war.

The earl of Bute, in October 1750, was appointed one of the lords of the bed-chamber to the prince of Wales, and continued in great favor with his royal highness until his unfortunate death; after which his lordship became the favorite of the young prince; and two days after his accession to the throne, the earl of Bute was, with the king's eldest brother, introduced into the privy-council, where he began to assume an air of authority, which gave some disgust to the administration. His lordship constantly advised with Mr. Fox, and their object was to supplant Mr. Pitt. Their first attack was by a plausible pamphlet, intitled "Considerations on the present German war;" and a plan was formed to place the Tories in the administration, with a great part of the Scots.

The parliament was dissolved, and new writs were issued for calling another. Mr. Legge was dismissed, and lord Barrington succeeded him as chancellor of the exchequer. The earl of Holderness was also removed from his office of secretary of state, to which lord Bute was appointed, and thereby became coadjutor to Mr. Pitt, with more power on his own side, as he was groom of the stole and in full possession of the royal ear. George the second had added by his sword, the riches of the American fisheries, the hostile territories taken from the French in North America, the sugar islands of Guadalupe and its dependencies, the gum trade of Africa, and the greatest and most improveable commerce in the Asiatic regions, to the British crown. The parliament granted eighteen million, three hundred thousand one hundred and forty five pounds, for the service and contingencies of the year

1761; yet pacific measures were adopted at court by the influence of French negotiations, while the military operations were vigorously continued in Germany. Several new peers were created, which additional weight in the aristocratic part of government could not be looked upon by the people without some apprehensions of an alteration of public measures.

Belleisle was the first object of the British arms at sea, after this era; and the charge of this expedition was committed, on the recommendation of the DUKE of CUMBERLAND, to major-general Hodgson by land, and commodore Keppel by sea, both of whom were highly favored by his Royal Highness, and confirmed by their actions the good opinion he had entertained of them. The squadron consisted of ten ships of the line, several frigates, fireships, and bombs, with upwards of one hundred transports, and nine thousand soldiers on board. They sailed from Spithead on the twenty-ninth of March, 1761, and anchored in the great road of Belleisle on the seventh of April. After some difficulty the troops were landed on the twenty-second, the siege of Palais was formed on the second of May, and M. de Croix obtained an honorable capitulation on the seventh of June. This acquisition was considered as a blow so humiliating to the pride and power of France, as could not but impress that haughty nation with the due sense of the superiority of a patriot king, ruling over a free, brave and united people; and convince them of the danger of delaying to accept such terms of peace, as his Britannic majesty's equity, wisdom, and moderation should think fit to prescribe.

The king of Prussia seemed neglected, and the French interest prevailed in Germany. A new parliament met,

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and negotiations of peace were carried on between Mr. Stanly at Paris, and M. de Bussy at London: but both ministers returned to their respective courts without accelerating a peace. Mr. Pitt then prepared for a vigorous prosecution of the war, especially against Martinico with an armament already provided, and thence against the Havannah, in case of a rupture with Spain, which seemed unavoidable on several accounts, particularly the extraordinary proceedings against the Antigallican privateer and her prize, and several other breaches of neutrality.

A treaty of alliance was concluded between the courts of Madrid and Versailles on the twenty-fifth of August, 1761, grounded not only upon important considerations respecting futurity, but likewise upon immediate hostile views against both Great Britain and Portugal: the consequence was the resignation of Mr. Pitt, which was followed by a war between Great Britain and Spain*.

The earl of Egmont succeeded Mr. Pitt as one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state; and lord Temple resigned his office of lord privy-seal, which was conferred on the duke of Bedford: however, the new ministers were obliged to declare war against Spain on the fourth of January, 1762; but the opportunity was slipped for intercepting the Spanish fleet, and the king of Spain also declared war against Great Britain on the eighteenth of the same month.

Dominica and Pondichery were taken from the French, which added greatly to their distress in the West Indies,

* Mr. Pitt resigned on the fifth of October, 1761; and, in consideration of his services, lady Hester Pitt, his wife, was created baroness of Chatham to herself and her heirs

male; and his majesty also conferred upon Mr. Pitt an annuity of 3000*l.* during his own life, and that of lady Hester Pitt, and their son John Pitt, esquire.

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and in a manner annihilated their power in the east. His majesty on meeting the new parliament told them, " He was fully persuaded they would agree with him in opinion, that the steady exertion of their most vigorous efforts, in every part where the enemy might still be attacked with advantage, was the only means that could be productive of such a peace as might with reason be expected from our successes." The parliament granted seventy thousand seamen; sixty seven thousand six hundred and seventy six thousand land forces, besides the militia of England, and two regiments of fencible men in North Britain; the provincial troops in North America; and sixty seven thousand one hundred and seventy seven German auxillaries to support the war in Westphalia, for the service of the year 1762: for the payment of which there was granted the sum of eighteen millions, six hundred and seventeen thousand eight hundred and ninety five pounds; and the parliament engaged to support the king, in the most effectual manner, in the prosecution of the war against Spain.

Spain invaded Portugal in April, and war was declared between both kingdoms, as also by the French king against his Portuguese majesty, because he refused to join in the family compact. But the British ministry sent a fleet under Sir Edward Hawke and the duke of York, as also a body of troops commanded by the German count la Lippe Buckeburg, to assist the king of Portugal.

The duke of Newcastle resigned in May, and was succeeded by the earl of Bute*, as first lord of the treasury;

* His lordship was also invested with the most noble order of the garter, at the same time with prince William Henry, third brother of

his majesty: and he was also elected a governor of the charterhouse in the room of the late lord chief-justice Willes.

upon which the French renewed their advances towards a pacification. In the mean time Martinico was taken, as also the Grenadoes, and the neutral islands: but the grandest event was the expedition against the Havannah, the principal fortress in the large island of Cuba, and the key to the Spanish West Indies.

The merit of this plan has been attributed to admiral Knowles, and also to lord Anson: but it is certain that admiral Knowles, in his return from Jamaica in 1756, prevailed on the captain of the man of war, in which he was coming home passenger, to touch at the Havannah, to give him an opportunity to take exact plans of the fortifications on the spot. As it was a time of peace, he passed unsuspected through all the fortifications, and committed to paper every thing that was material. At the breaking out of the Spanish war, these draughts and plans at the request of the DUKE of CUMBERLAND, were sent to him for his approbation. His Royal Highness was well acquainted with the admiral's qualifications and skill as an engineer, and therefore consulted him on the most probable method of distressing the enemy in that part. His Royal Highness approved of the draughts, which he sent to the ministry, together with the plan of an expedition. The plan was disapproved by lord Anson, who had formed one of his own, which was adopted by the ministry; however, the compliment was paid to the DUKE of CUMBERLAND to appoint the officers in chief for carrying this expedition into execution. Accordingly through the recommendation of his Royal Highness the right honorable George earl of Albemarle, who had long served as aid-de-camp to the DUKE, and by whom he was held in the highest estimation, was appointed com-

mander in chief, as lieutenant-general of the land forces; and Sir George Pocock was appointed to the chief command of the fleet. Major-general Keppel and commodore Keppel, the valiant brothers of lord Albemarle, were appointed to other distinguished commands on this service, and the fleet was equipped at Portsmouth in February 1762: but although it consisted of only four ships of the line and one frigate, and although only four regiments were to embark, they did not sail until the fifth of March. This slender force was ordered to join the fleet and troops at Martinico; and if that island was not taken they were to proceed to the Havannah.

Admiral Pocock, with the fleet and troops, arrived at Martinico on the twenty-second of April, when general Monckton resigned his command to the earl of Albemarle, and repaired to New York. The whole force collected at Martinico, for carrying this expedition against the Havannah into execution, consisted of nineteen ships of the line, eighteen frigates, and about ten thousand soldiers. They proceeded on the twenty-seventh of May, and made an expeditious passage through the old streight of Bahama, so that they arrived off the Havannah on the sixth of June; the troops were landed the next day, and preparations instantly made for a regular siege. The Moro castle was attacked by sea and land; it commanded the harbor and town, and on the success of this siege depended the glory and advantage of this expedition. The garrison made a brave defence from the twenty-second of June to the thirtieth of July, when a breach was made, and the fort taken by storm. The town was then invested on all sides, and was defended until the thirteenth of August, when the governor surrendered, to the great joy
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of the besiegers, who stood in need of fresh provisions and rest, as well as shelter from the heavy rains. Besides the town, with the artillery and stores, there also fell into the hands of the conquerors nine ships of the line, twenty-five loaded merchant ships, and about three millions of dollars, together with several large magazines of merchandize, comprizing a conquest of immense value in the whole. The loss among the English was very considerable; but not so much owing to the fire of the enemy, as to a terrible sickness, which raged in so fatal a manner, that there were only two thousand five hundred men left capable of real service.

The earl of Albemarle informed lord Egremont, that the Moro fort was taken by storm, "so much to the honor and credit of his majesty's troops, and to major-general Keppel, who commanded the attack, that he should do them injustice if he did not mention them in a particular manner." And afterwards his lordship says, "The difficulties the officers and soldiers have met with, and the fatigues they have so chearfully and resolutely gone through, since the army first landed, are not to be described. They deserve from me the greatest commendations; and I must intreat your lordship to take the first opportunity of informing his majesty how much I think myself obliged to lieutenant-general Elliot, and the rest of the general officers under my command; to every officer and soldier in the army, and to the officers and sailors of his majesty's fleet, for the zealous manner with which they have carried on the service, and for the great assistance I have received from them. Sir George Pocock and commodore Keppel have exerted themselves in a most particular manner; and I may venture to say, that there never

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was a joint undertaking carried on with more harmony and zeal on both sides, which greatly contributed to the success of it." Sir George Pocock, in his letter to Mr. Cleveland, said, that "this great and important acquisition was a blow that he hoped would prove the more capital to the enemy, as they received it so early in the war; and, he might venture to say, would leave all their settlements in that part of the world, exposed to any attempts that might be thought proper to be made on them."

By this great acquisition, his Britannic majesty was put in possession of an island, that enabled her to be the bulwark and preserver of the liberties of Europe against the attempts of the house of Bourbon, lately designed in the family compact; for this conquest might be properly called the key to those riches with which the principals in that league had proposed to continue the war.

The earl of Albemarle and Sir George Pocock dispatched captain Nugent and the honorable Augustus Hervey to England, with their respective accounts of the Havannah and all its dependences. Those gentlemen arrived in London on the twenty ninth of September, about eight o'clock in the evening; and at one the next morning the tower and park guns were fired. A general joy was diffused throughout all ranks of people, who expressed the most unbounded marks of exultation upon so prosperous an event. The colors taken at the Havannah were presented to his majesty at St. James's by the earl of Halifax: and, on the fourth of October, the lord mayor, aldermen, sheriffs, and many common council-men of the city of London, went in grand procession with an address to the king, wherein they congratulated him upon the late signal

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nal success of his arms in "the reduction of the Havannah (most properly styled the key of the West Indies, and long deemed impregnable) under a capitulation that does honor to the spirit and humanity of the British nation."

The DUKE of CUMMERLAND was infinitely pleased with the advices he received from the earl of Albemarle, and participated in the national joy: but his views were still more extended and he promoted another glorious attempt to distress the Spaniards by an unexpected attack against their settlements in the East-Indies. Rear-admiral Cornish and general Draper sailed from Madras, with ten men of war, and landed two thousand three hundred men on the coast of Luconia, off the fort of Cavite, near the city of Manilla, which was summoned on the twenty-fourth of September, 1762, before the governor had received advice of the rupture between Great Britain and Spain; and the town was taken by storm on the sixth of October. The victors granted the inhabitants a generous capitulation, by which they surrendered prisoners at discretion, and agreed to pay four millions of dollars for the preservation of their town and effects; which they afterwards evaded with equal insolence and perfidy.

In the midst of these successes, the ministry were desirous of peace, though the people were willing to continue the war. The duke of Devonshire, who was lord chamberlain of the household, was dismissed, and struck off the list of privy-counsellors, on the thirtieth of October. The earl of Halifax was appointed one of the principal secretaries of state; and the right honorable George Grenville was placed at the head of the admiralty-board. Peace was to be had at all events; for which purpose the duke of Bedford was sent to Paris, and the duke de Niver-

nois came to London in September. In less than two months preliminaries were signed at Paris by the ministers of Great Britain, France, Spain, and Portugal. This was the more astonishing to the people, when the king told his parliament, that "he had so effectually exerted the strength they had put into his hand, and he had been so well served by his fleets and armies in the execution of his plans, that history could not furnish examples of greater glory, or greater advantages acquired by the arms of this or any other nation, in so short a period of time." Prince Ferdinand, his nephew the hereditary prince of Brunswic, and the marquis of Granby, performed wonders against the French in Germany, where the king of Prussia was victorious over all his enemies, and compelled the house of Austria to conclude a peace that was highly honorable and advantageous to himself.

His Britannic majesty ordered the preliminary treaty to be laid before the parliament, where it was strongly opposed by the several of late ministry, who insisted, that the terms proposed were inadequate to the conquests, and just expectations of the kingdom: but Mr. Fox defended the treaty, which was approved by three hundred and nineteen against sixty five; and by two hundred and twenty seven against sixty three upon the second division, on the report of the address. A proclamation was issued for a cessation of arms, and the definitive treaty of peace was executed at Paris on the tenth of February, 1763, which was disapproved of by the DUKE of CUMBERLAND and the generality of the people, because the Havannah and our other principal acquisitions were thereby restored to the enemy. Addresses came in very languidly to the throne, and a more consolidated opposition was made
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against the minister, whose public administration was distinguished by only two transactions more; one was, the profuse manner of negotiating of three millions five hundred thousand pounds for 1763; and the other, the new excise upon cyder and perry.

All the ministerial measures were attentively observed and smartly exposed in the paper called the *North Briton*; which for keenness of satire, and elegance of style, was, perhaps, never equalled. At length such a formidable party appeared against the earl of Bute, that after stipulating measures with his successors, he thought proper to resign all his employments on the eighth of April 1763, and retired to Harrowgate, after a short reign of only ten months and as many days. Soon after, Sir Francis Dashwood was created lord le Despencer; and Mr. Fox was created lord Holland, about which time he retired into France, and lord Talbot went into Wales; so that the new ministry seemed to have a clear stage to act upon.

The right honorable George Grenville, esquire, was appointed first lord of the treasury, and chancellor of the exchequer, whereby he was considered as the minister, because he was the only person who had held these two great employments since the death of Mr. Pelham. The earl of Sandwich was appointed first lord of the admiralty in the room of Mr. Grenville; and several other changes were made at the public boards: but the earls of Halifax and Egremont continued secretaries of state, and were to act in conjunction with Mr. Grenville as ministers in whose hands the government was confided by his majesty. Lord Temple was deprived of the lieutenancy of the county of Buckingham, yet he still persisted in establishing the su-

ture liberties of Englishmen, against the illegality of such general warrants as had been issued against Mr. Wilkes and other inferior persons who had been taken up by the messengers.

When the popular clamor was somewhat subsided, the earl of Bute returned to town, where the council chair became vacant by the death of earl Granville; and in September the earl of Egremont died. Lord Bute was for making a new ministry, and negociated with Mr. Pitt, whom he introduced to the king, at the queen's palace, on the twenty-ninth of that month: but Mr. Pitt did not then think proper to accept of the terms proposed, and the negociation was dropped.

The duke of Bedford had retired dissatisfied after his return from France; but now his grace was sent for, and desired to accept of the office of lord president of his majesty's council, which he accordingly did. Lord Sandwich was made secretary of state in the room of the late earl of Egremont; and lord Egmont succeeded lord Sandwich at the board of admiralty: but this was called "the duke of Bedford's ministry," which was then thought strong enough to face the parliament, while the earl of Bute consented to pass the winter at his new estate in Bedfordshire. Mr. Yorke resigned his post of attorney general, which was supplied by Sir Fletcher Norton; but such law promotions are immaterial in state affairs.

The parliament met on the sixteenth of November, 1763; the forty-fifth number of the North Briton was voted a seditious libel, by two hundred and seventy three against one hundred and eleven, and was ordered to be burnt by the common hangman. Privilege was also voted away in case of a libel, by a majority of two hundred and fifty

fifty eight against one hundred and thirty three : but lord Temple and others made a vigorous and powerful opposition in the house of lords against this surrender of privilege. By this determination, which the lords came into without calling in the advice of the judges, the members of both houses seem to lie at the mercy of the attorney-general, who may, on the suggestion of any of them being libellers, imprison their persons, merely for the sake of preventing their attending any particular vote or debate : and it has been very pertinently observed, that “ doubtless neither of the houses conceived, by surrendering this supposed privilege, they thereby broke in upon the rights of the people of England, in thus subjecting their representatives to the possibility of such restraints.” Mr. Wilkes was not only expelled the house of commons, but also outlawed in the course of the year.

The illegal proceedings against Mr. Wilkes were next brought under consideration of the house of commons upon general grounds, and the legality of the warrant was debated on the fourteenth of February, 1764 ; but it was moved to adjourn the debate to that day four months ; and at half an hour after five, in the morning of the eighteenth, the question to adjourn was put, when it was carried by two hundred and thirty eight against two hundred and eighteen ; which was considered as a kind of victory over the majority.

The minority, upon the largest division, were two hundred and twenty one present, and twenty five absent. fourteen lords who sat in the house of commons ; twenty intitled to the style of honorable ; thirty six baronets ; ten general officers ; and six colonels. Many of these were only nominally of the minority, and were ready to seize the emoluments

emoluments of office as well as those in the majority ; which made it said, that in no age, except what produced the destruction of the Roman liberty, were venality and corruption so prevalent as at this time in Britain. Those very few who were really honest, and in a situation of viewing the scandalous transactions of the majority of the great, could not help looking with horror and detestation upon two bodies of men regulating their whole conduct by the single rule of interest ; plundering, or wishing to plunder an oppressed, distracted and exhausted country ; and covering, or attempting to cover, their base designs, with the most solemn protestations of love for the public, and claiming the title of patriots ; a title which was formerly more honorable than any that a court could bestow ; but which their repeated perfidy had brought to contempt and reproach.

An ineffectual attempt was made to relieve the cyder counties, and the minority dwindled away either by general disappointments or private views ; therefore the supplies were granted without opposition, the secluded minister recovered his strength, and the session ended without any further efforts of the minority. The honorable lieutenant-general Conway and major-general A'Court were dismissed the service, which instantly created an alarm ; because it was suspected their military dismissal was owing to their parliamentary conduct ; and this act of ministerial power was considered by the impartial public as an attempt to destroy the freedom and independency of parliaments.

From this time, until the year 1765, his Royal Highness was totally unconnected with all public affairs. He retired to his seat at Windsor lodge, there dispensing infinite

nite benefit to a great number of poor persons, whom he kept in constant employ. At length, when the nation became distressed by a variety of ministers and measures which had given great disgust, he very humanely and public spiritedly, upon application from his nephew, undertook the very arduous and disagreeable task of forming an administration; suitable, as he hoped and intended, both to the king's wishes, and the satisfaction of the people. The state of this negociation has in part been already particularized, in an account that has been esteemed of good authority. We shall therefore transcribe as much of that as is proper, and supply the deficiency,

On Wednesday the 15th of May, 1765, his Royal Highness sent for lord Temple, who was then at his country-seat at Stowe, and told his lordship, his majesty had a mind to change his ministers, and to take in his lordship and Mr. Pitt, with some of their friends; and desired their conditions. His lordship answered; "the making certain foreign alliances; the restoration of officers; the repeal of the excise upon cyder; and the condemnation of general warrants, the seizure of papers, &c." These were agreed to. But on the other hand it was insisted, that lord Northumberland should be at the head of the treasury. Upon which lord Temple is said to have declared, "he would never come in under lord Bute's lieutenant *."

On the Sunday morning following, the DUKE sent a message to his lordship, desiring to meet him at Mr Pitt's at Hayes, at twelve o'clock that day. This resolution of going to Hayes, was taken without the participation of

* Lord Northumberland had lately been lieutenant of Ireland.

his lordship, although Mr. Pitt and his lordship were to be joined together in office. But it was the principle of this whole negociation to take them always suddenly, and sometimes separately; in order, if possible, to precipitate them into an acceptance, before they had time to discover the footsteps of the secret agent. But the disguise was of such a flimsy texture, and so awkwardly put on, that the intended imposition was not only obvious, but the attempt to conceal it, ridiculous and contemptible. The DUKE proposed to Mr Pitt the same condition concerning lord Northumberland, that had been refused by lord Temple. But Mr. Pitt likewise rejected it, and for the same reason that had influenced the noble lord. This unexpected firmness against offers personally made by a Prince of the blood royal, a Prince of great character, and high in the esteem of the people, might have ruined the reputations of any other men but lord Temple and Mr. Pitt, as few persons would believe, any terms which such a Prince could propose, were improper for a subject of accept. And it is not quite impossible, that such an embassy was only made to lay the foundation of such an odium; for who could have a moment's doubt, that knew the men, they would ever submit, under any hands, to be the instruments of the favourite. But whatever was the motive of this errand, it was in no respect answered. The established characters of the persons preserved them from censure; and though the terms refused were not known, yet it was taken for granted, that they were such as those great men could not accept with honor to themselves, and fidelity to the people. Next day the treasury was offered to lord Lyttelton: but that noble lord thought proper to excuse himself. The account of this second offer,

offer, conveyed to the noble lord before applied to, the first information of the point concerning lord Northumberland being relinquished. The DUKE then apprehending, that lord Temple had not fully understood his powers, his Royal Highness renewed his applications to that noble lord. This was on the Tuesday. But before his lordship and lord Lyttelton (who were now in the most cordial and firm union) were got into the chaise, in order to go and consult Mr. Pitt, the DUKE of CUMBERLAND went to the Queen's palace, and advised his majesty to recal his old ministers. Upon what cause, or with what view this was done, is not very easy to discover. Certain it is, that that was the fact; and that it put an end to the negociation.

This negociation having failed, his Royal Highness returned to his first position, or perhaps promise, of making an administration; and he applied to those, with whom he was more personally acquainted. These were the duke of Newcastle, and the marquis of Rockingham. After some hesitation they agreed to accept; and, with the assistance of their friends, an administration was with some difficulty formed. This work was scarcely completed, when it received a most violent shock by his Royal Highness's sudden death; which happened at his house in Upper Grosvenor-street, on the 31st of October, 1765, in the 44th year of his age. The circumstances of this melancholy event were as follow. Having appointed and resolved to assist at a council, to be held that evening at his house in town, he came that morning from his seat at Windsor, though he had some alarming symptoms the evening before, while at cards: and about the same hour, viz. eight o'clock, just as the duke of Newcastle, and the earl

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earl of Northington (then lord chancellor) came to the intended council, he was seized in an inner room, with the same kind of very cold shivering fit, which had attacked him the preceding evening; on which he said to the earl of Albemarle, who was with him, "It is all over," and sunk down speechless in his lordship's arms.

On the ninth of November following, the remains of his Royal Highness were interred in the royal vault in Henry the Seventh's chapel in Westminster abbey, with military honours. On the preceding evening (Friday the 8th) the body and urn were conveyed from his Royal Highness's house, to the Prince's chamber in the house of lords, in an hearse drawn by six horses, adorned with white feathers: the next evening, about ten, a signal from Westminster bridge, by firing a sky-rocket, was given, that the funeral procession was begun; which being answered by another from the centre arch of London bridge, minute guns were immediately fired at the Tower, and so continued, until by second signals, it was known the funeral was over. The procession passed through Old Palace yard to the south-east door of the abbey, upon a floor railed in, covered with black cloth, and lined on each side with a party of foot guards, in the following order:

Drums and trumpets, sounding a solemn march; the coverings of the drums, and banners of the trumpets, being adorned with military trophies,

Knight marshal's men.

Servants to his Royal Highness.

Page of the presence to his Royal Highness.

Page of the back stairs.

Page of honor, Everard Fawcner, esq.

Physician, Dr. Wintringham.

Chaplains

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Chaplains.

Equerry, Col. Dalling.

Secretary, Edward Mason, esq.

Pursuivants of arms.

Heralds of arms.

Comptroller of his R. Highness's household, W. Windham, esq; | Treasurer of his Royal Highness's household.

York herald.

Lord chamberlain of his majesty's household, earl Gower.

Chester herald.

The gentleman of the horse to his Royal Highness,
major-general Hodgson.

A
gentleman
usher.

The coronet upon a black
velvet cushion, borne by
Clarencieux king of arms.

A
gentleman
usher.

The B O D Y,

Carried by fourteen yeomen of the guard; covered with a holland sheet and black velvet pall, adorned with eight escutcheons of his Royal Highness's arms, under a canopy of black velvet, borne by the following general officers, viz. sir John Mordaunt, Cholmondeley, lord George Beauclerk, Conway, Cornwallis, Howard, Rich, Honeywood, Durand, Webb, and sir Jeffery Amhurst, being in their uniforms, and having sashes covered with crape, and crape in their hats and on their arms. The pall supported by the lords Abergavenny, Cadogan, Sondes, and Grantham.

A
gentleman
usher.

Garter principal king
of arms, with
his rod.

A
gentleman
usher.

Supporter to the
chief mourner,
D. of Ancafter,
in a black cloak.

The chief mourner,
Duke of Grafton, in
a long black cloak;
his train borne by sir
Char. Knowles, bart.

Supporter to the
chief mourner,
D. of Manches-
ter, in a black
cloak.

Assistants

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Assistants to the chief mourner, viz.

Earl of Peterborough,

Earl of Dartmouth,

Earl of Harrington,

Earl Cornwallis,

Earl Talbot, lord steward of his majesty's household.

Earl of Cardigan.

Earl of Pomfret.

Earl Harcourt.

A gentleman usher.

The three lords of his Royal Highness's bed-chamber, viz.

Lord Frederick Cavendish,

Earl of Albemarle,

Earl of Ancram.

The grooms of his Royal Highness's bed-chamber, viz.

Major-general Fitzwilliam,

Major general Boscawen,

Colonel Sandys.

N.B. Lords, lords' sons, and privy counsellors, were likewise called over, and some attended.

At the entrance of Westminster abbey, within the church, the dean and prebendaries, attended by the choir, received the body, falling into the procession just before the officer of arms, who conducted the lord chamberlain, and so proceeded into king Henry the Seventh's chapel; where the body was deposited on tressels, the head towards the altar, the coronet and cushion being laid upon the coffin, and the canopy held over it, while the service was read by the dean of Westminster; the chief mourner, and his two supporters, sitting on chairs at the head of the corpse; the lords assistants, and supporters of the pall, sitting on stools on either side.

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The part of the service before the interment being read, the corpse was deposited in the vault; and the dean having finished the burial service, Garter proclaimed his Royal Highness's style as follows:

Thus it has pleased Almighty GOD to take out of this transitory life, unto his divine mercy, the late most High, most Mighty, and most illustrious Prince; WILLIAM AUGUSTUS, Duke of CUMBERLAND, and Duke of Brunswick and Lunenburg; Marquis of Berkhamstead, Earl of Kennington, Viscount Trematon, Baron of the isle of Alderney; Knight of the most noble order of the Garter, and first and principal Companion of the most honourable order of the Bath; third son of his late most excellent Majesty King GEORGE the Second.

Twenty-one pieces of artillery were drawn into the Park, and fired minute guns during the ceremony; and three battalions, viz. one of each regiment of guards, were drawn up in St. Margaret's church-yard, and fired volleys, on a signal given, as soon as the corpse was deposited.

His Royal Highness died universally lamented by all ranks of people. The public confidence and esteem, which had followed him in all his actions, failed not to pay the tribute of sincere regret to his memory when dead; which was done by a *general mourning*, and other public demonstrations of their deepest and most unfeigned concern.

We cannot close this book better, than with the following most just eulogium, given his Royal Highness by the house of lords:

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“ The many eminent public and private virtues, the
 “ extent of capacity, and the magnanimity of mind, the
 “ affection for his majesty’s person, and the eminent ser-
 “ vices performed for this country, which distinguished
 “ this great and excellent Prince, have made an impres-
 “ sion never to be erased from the minds of a grateful
 “ people.” *

* His Royal Highness was born at Leicester-house in Leicester-square, Westminster, on the 15th of April, 1721, a few minutes after seven o’clock in the evening. He was privately christened on the 2d of May following, at the same place, by the Rev. dean Harris, chaplain to his late majesty George II. The sponsors were, the king of Prussia, represented by the earl of Grantham, chamberlain to the prince and princess of Wales (afterwards king George and queen Caroline); his royal highness the duke of York, brother to George I. represented by viscount Lumley, master of the horse to their royal highnesses; and the queen of Prussia, represented by the duchess of Dorset, one of the ladies of the princess’s bed-chamber: his Royal Highness’s name was WILLIAM-AUGUSTUS. On the revival of the most honourable order of the Bath, by George I. on the 27th of May, 1725, his Royal Highness was elected the first knight; and, on the 17th of June following, installed in Henry the Seventh’s chapel at Westminster. And by letters patent, dated the 27th of July, 1726, his Royal Highness was created baron of the isle of Alderney, viscount of Trematon in the county of Cornwall, earl of Kennington in the county of Surry, marquis of Berkhamstead in the county of Hertford, and duke of the county of Cumberland. Also in the tenth year of his age, he was elected a knight of the most noble order of the Garter, on the 18th of May, 1730; and installed at Windsor, on the 18th of June following, with great solemnity, his royal father being present. After his Royal Highness’s installation, his majesty dined in state with the knights companions of the said order; the prince of Wales on his majesty’s right hand, and the duke on his left. — At the ceremony of the espousals between her royal highness the princess Mary and
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and prince Frederick of Hesse-Cassel, in the royal chapel at St. James's, on the 8th of May, 1740, his Royal Highness being constituted procurator for the prince, led the princess in a virgin habit; and, in the name of the prince, solemnly performed the ceremony of marriage, in the presence of his majesty, the princesses, and several of the nobility.—His Royal Highness had an education suitable to his birth; and applied himself early to be initiated in the military service, by attending the several reviews of the forces with the king his father: How well he succeeded, together with the great and immortal transactions of his life, are fully and impartially related in the foregoing sheets.

F I N I S.

THE NATIONAL BUREAU OF COMMERCE

MUSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM



